Mene Tekel;

Or, The

Downfal of Tyranny.

A TREATISE, wherein *LIBERTY* and *EQUITY* are Vindicated, and *TYRANNY* Condemned, by the Law of God and Right Reason: And the Peoples Power, and Duty, to *execute Justice*, without, and upon, *Wicked Governors*, Asserted.

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XUM

CHAP. I.

Containing a Scriptural Deſcription of Magiſtracy: alſo ſhewing that it is an Ordinance of God, what kind of Ordinance, and in what reſpect it is an Ordinance of Man.

IT being the uſual method of Architects when they undertake a piece of building, in the firſt place to draw in a narrow compaſs a Platform of the ſame, according to which they afterwards raiſe the Structure: I think it not unprofitable for me to imitate them; I ſhall therefore preſent you with a Platform of the following work, I mean a Deſcription of Magiſtracy, which comprehends in a few words thoſe ſeveral Particulars which are the ſubject of this Treatiſe.

Magiſtracy is an Ordinance of God, for the right ordering of Commonwealths; whereby ſuch as are meet for Government, are lawfully called to ſerve God and the People therein, for his Glory and their Good, in the execution of Judgement, and protection of thoſe committed to their charge, and receive due Power, Honour, Tribute, and Obedience therefore. This Deſcription takes in eſpecially theſe ſeven Particulars; 1. The Nature of Magiſtracy. 2. The End of Magiſtracy. 3. The Call of Magiſtrates. 4. The Qualifications. 5. The Relation of Magiſtrates. 6. The Duty. 7. The Due of Magiſtrates, or what is due to them from the People; which is as much as I judge neceſſary at this preſent ſeaſon for the handling of this point.

I ſhall endeavour in the ſtrength of God to treat of them all diſtinctly, from Scripture and right Reaſon, with what brevity and perſpicuity this weighty and knotty Subject, and the capacity of common Readers will allow.

The Lord open my underſtanding, that I may underſtand the Scriptures which relate to this Subject, and ſo guide me by his Spirit, that knowing I may make known his mind concerning this great Ordinance of his, which hath ſo long been abuſed; and thereby inſtruct the Ignorant, and convince the Gainſayers of thoſe Truths, which the Scriptures deliver concerning the ſame.

Firſt, Then to begin with the Nature of Magiſtracy.

It is an Ordinance of God for the right ordering of Commonwealths. That Magiſtracy is an Ordinance of God, is ſo clear from the abundant

ſtimony which the Scriptures give thereunto, both in the old and new Teſtament, and ſo Univerſally acknowledged by all ſober and rational perſons, that I ſhall only mention a few Scriptures for proof of it, and ſo proceed. *Deut.* 16.18.– *Rom.* 13.1. to 4.–*Titus* 3.1.– 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, and 14.

Queſt. *But the Queſtion will be, what kind of Ordinance this is? for we read of ſeveral ſorts of God's Ordinances; Ordinances of the Paſſeover,* Numb. 9.12. *Ordinances of the Houſe of God,* Ezek. 44.5. *Ordinances of Divine Service,* Heb. 9.1. *Ordinances of Juſtice,* Iſa. 58.2.

Anſw. It is an Ordinance of Juſtice or Righteouſneſs inſtituted by God, for the execution thereof, that Commonwealths may be ordered in a juſt and righteous manner.

God is the God of Order, and as he delights therein, ſo hath he appointed Order for all his Creatures, but eſpecially for Man; Order for every one as conſidered apart; order for Societies of men, and thoſe of ſeveral ſorts, which I ſhall not here enumerate. There are politick or civil Societies, and in theſe men, as men, joyn together to live by Rules of common Right, for civil Comfort and Security. There are Societies Eccleſiaſtical; in theſe men, as Saints, joyn together to live by Rules of Goſpel-Order, for the Glory of God, and mutual edification in Faith, and Holineſs. The former are uſually termed Commonwealths, the latter Churches; which as they differ in name, ſo alſo in nature, as is hinted above, having different Subjects, Laws, Governours, Duties and Ends.

The latter ſort of Societies fall not under preſent conſideration, becauſe Magiſtracy is an Ordinance inſtituted for all mankind; and Magiſtrates have the care of men, as men, committed to their charge, 2 *Sam.* 23.3. as is alſo clear by this, that Heathen Magiſtrates, if righteous, are true Magiſtrates; although I deny not, but Saints, as men, are bound to ſubmit to this great Ordinance as well as others; and as they are members of civil Communities, are obliged by thoſe Rules of common right which other members are.

Politick or civil Societies, uſually termed Commonwealths, are the proper Objects of this Ordinance; which, as they cannot ſubſiſt without Order and Government, ſo according to their various inclinations and occaſions, conſtitute Governours over them, according to thoſe ſeveral forms and manners of Government which ſeveral Nations delight in: And thus the very ſavage *Indians* and *Americans* themſelves, live in ſome meaſure of obedience unto this great Ordinance of God; the Light of Nature convincing them, that Government is neceſſary to their well-being; ſhewing hereby the work of the Law written in their hearts;

hearts; as the Apoſtle ſpeaks, *Rom.* 2.15. for this Ordinance of Magiſtracy, is a branch of that Law, as you may ſee, *Deut.*16.18. and many other places. But although Magiſtracy, in the general, be an Ordinance of God, yet as to the ſeveral kinds and manners of it, is an Ordinance or Conſtitution of man, God having left men to their liberty, to make choice of this or that manner of Government, which in the beſt of their underſtanding, ſeems moſt conducible to his Glory, and their own ſecurity; for God hath not left men to an abſolute liberty, to chuſe what Government they pleaſe, without reſpect to the ends of Government; but all Nations and People are obliged by the Law of Nature, ſeriouſly to conſult and wiſely to conſider, what form of Government is moſt expedient for them, and beſt correſponding with the Ends of Government, and to chuſe that.

Now, what-ever righteous form of Government a Nation chuſes, may in that ſenſe be called their Ordinance or Conſtitution; and yet as it is grounded upon the Law of God, it is God's Ordinance alſo, and obligeth all that live under it to ſubjection.

And this is the true meaning of that place, 1 *Pet.*2.13, to 16. *Submit your ſelves to every Ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake:* it is not meant (as the wicked Antichriſtian-Prelates would perſwade the People to believe) every Law of man, good or bad, righteous or unrighteous; for we know that neither Chriſt, the Prophets, or Apoſtles, would ſubmit to wicked ſtatutes or ordinances of their Governours; but every righteous Conſtitution or kind of Government, called the Ordinance of man, becauſe God hath left men to their liberty, to chuſe what *ſpecies* of Government may be moſt conducible to their own good.

Having given you a deſcription of Magiſtracy, and ſhewn you that it is an Ordinance of God, what kind of Ordinance, what is the proper Object of it, and in what ſence it is an Ordinance of man, I ſhall cloſe this firſt Chapter, and in the next treat of the ſecond particular, the End of Magiſtracy.

CHAP. II.

Treating of the Ends for which this great Ordinance was instituted by God; that is, for his own Glory, and the Peoples good. Also shewing that these should be the Peoples ends in electing Governours, and Governours ends in accepting and executing their Office.

THe second Particular which falls under consideration, is the End or Ends of this great Ordinance, *The Glory of God, and good of the People.*

1. The Honour and Glory of God. Magistrates are called God's Ministers, or Servants, as the Word signifies, and is frequently rendered in other places; *Rom.* 13. 4. *He is the Servant of God. Now a Servant honoureth his Master, Mal.* 1. 6. they being by their Office Servants of God, are bound in their several places to seek how they may honour and glorifie Him. Therefore *David* exhorteth the Mighty (or Princes of the Earth, as the Word often signifies, and the Contents of your Bibles have it) to *give Glory to God*, Psal. 29. 1. yea, repeats the Exhortation thrice together, to let us understand, that they in an especial manner are obliged to promote and advance the glory of God. Therefore that good King *Jehoshaphat*, in that pious charge which he gives to the Judges, to judge faithfully, couragiously, impartially, and in the fear of God, uses this as his argument to enforce the Exhortation; *For ye judge not for man, but for God*, 2 Chron. 19. 6. your work is not to please men, but to honour and glorifie God, for whom ye judge: And because *Eli* had not so careful a respect to this end, but honoured his Sons before God, suffering them to make their own ends of God's Ordinance, the Lord rejected him and his posterity; depriving them not only of the Office of Cheif-Priest, but Chief-Magistrate also.

Eli was the chief Magistrate, and had judged the Land 40 years, 1 *Sam.* 4. 18. and the Lord had promised that his House should walk before Him for ever; but the meaning was upon condition, that he and his posterity honoured God in their places; but when he neglected to honour God, the Lord refused to honour him or his posterity, with that Office, 1 *Sam.* 2. 30. and denounces one of the most dreadful temporal Judgments against him and his posterity that the Scripture records.

2. The Good of the People. Therefore the Apostle treating of Magistracy in its Institution, as the Ordinance of God, and of Magistrates acting in conformity thereto, drawes a strong argument for subjection

jection to them from the end of Magistracy; *For* (saies he) *he is the Servant of God to thee for good*, Rom. 13.4. as if he should have said, I have indeed exhorted you to be subject to Magistracy as it is an Ordinance of God, and shewn you the danger of resisting that Ordinance, or those that act conformably thereunto; but do not mistake me, as if I had no other argument to urge for your subjection, than God's Soveraignty, that it is his Ordinance, and therefore you must be subject; I tell you one end for which God instituted this Ordinance, was *your Good*; he hath not only consulted his own Glory in this Ordinance, but your benefit and advantage.

Thus you see how the Lord draws us with the cords of a man, and bands of love, *Hos.* 11. 4. as well in this as other Ordinances of his; he deals with man as a rational creature, and proposes arguments suitable to his nature, and conducing to his advantage, thereby to allure him to subjection to his most righteous will; and what a tender regard the Lord had, as well to the good of mankind, as the glory of his own name, in the Institution of this Ordinance.

And if these be Gods Ends in this Ordinance, surely they should be the Peoples also: if these be the ends of Gods Institution of Magistrates, they should be the Peoples in Election of them. I shall shew you hereafter, that by the Law of God and Nature, the People have an undoubted right to make their Governours; but you must not understand an absolute or arbitrary power to chuse what Government or Governours the Devil and their own lusts shall excite them to, but such a form of Government and such Governours, as may answer the end of God's Ordinance, his Glory, and their own Good.

How careful also should Magistrates be to answer the end for which they were ordained by God; these ought to be, yea, are the great ends of every true Magistrate, to honour God, and serve his Generation: He that seeks his own advantage by the Government, neglecting the ends above mentioned, doth not deserve the Name of a Magistrate, and is indeed a real Tyran, usurping those Titles which are due to a true and righteous Magistrate.

And what a zeal had blessed *Moses* for the honour of God and good of the People? when God would have destroyed them, and offered to make of him a greater and mightier Nation than they (a temptation almost beyond the power of flesh and blood to resist) he refuses to accept the offer, and pleads with God to consult the glory of his own Name, and his compassions to the People, *Numb.* 14. 12, to 20.

Another time, how doth he intercede for the People, *Exod.* 32. 32. *O Lord, I pray thee forgive the sin of this People, and if not, blot me out of thy Book*;

Book; as if he would not have been content to go to Heaven, or at least to live, unless the Peoples sin were pardoned; he little minded the advancing of himself or his posterity, that would not hearken to a motion made by God himself, to destroy Israel, and make of him a Nation greater and mighlier than they.

In like manner *Joshua*, that faithful Governour, made the honour of God and the Peoples good, the ends of his Administration, *Josh.* 7. 8. What a publick Spirit had *Nehemiah*? how truly did he serve God and the People, in the Office of chief Magistrate? he was so far from breaking down the Walls of the City, that he and all his Servants continued in the work of building the Wall, and did not so much as put off their cloaths (except for washing) till it were finished; he would buy no Land, nor eat the Bread of the Governour (as others had done before him) while the people were in bondage, because of the fear of God, *Nehem.* 4. 23. and *Chap.* 5. 14. to end. This was the end of good *Mordecai*, when he was advanced to great Authority, to seek the welfare of his people, and speak peace to all his seed.

CHAP. III.

Treating of the Call of Magistrates, both supream and subordinate; shewing that both by the Laws of God and Nature, the right of making Governours is inherent in the People.

HAving briefly passed over two particulars, I come to the third, *The Call of Magistrates*; which is twofold, *Immediate* and *Mediate*.

1. Immediate, when God by virtue of his Sovereignty doth immediately call a man to the Government, and give him his Commission, as he did *Moses*, *Exod.* 3. calling to him out of the bush. So *Joshua*, *Num.* 27. 16, to 19. God himself by his own Voice, appointed *Joshua* to his Office: This Call is easily known by some signs or tokens, whereby the Lord makes known his mind to the People; as *Moses*, to satisfie the people that he was called of God, gave them signs by God's appointment, *Exod.* 4. 1, to 9. So *Joshua* had some of *Moses*'s honour put upon him, that all the Congregation of Israel might be obedient unto him, *Numb.* 27. 20. that is, as I conceive, an extraordinary portion of *Moses*'s Spirit, was given to him to qualifie him for that great Trust which he was to undertake, *Numb.* 11, 17. to 26. We read the Lord took of the Spirit that was upon *Moses*, and gave it to the Seventy which were to assist him

him in the Government: No doubt the ſame, but in a greater meaſure, was beſtowed upon *Joſhua*, as one who was not only to aſſiſt, but ſucceed *Moſes* in the place of chief Magiſtrate, that the people (ſeeing the excellency of his Spirit) might be content to hearken to him; which is evident by *Deut.* 34. 9. *Joſhua, the ſon of Nun, was full of the Spirit of Wiſdom, for Moſes had laid his hands on him, and the Children of Iſrael hearkened unto him.*

A Call very near to this, though not in the ſtrickeſt ſence, *Immediate*, was that of *Gideon*, *Judg.* 6. 14. who was called by an *Angel* ſent from Heaven; and perhaps many other of the Judges were called in the ſame manner: but whoever hath this Call, hath ſomething or other, either in the manner of his Call, or in the excellency of his Spirit, or both, which is ſufficient to convince the People, that he is one appointed by God to be their Governour, and that it is their duty to hearken to, and obey him; as the People did *Joſhua*.

2. There is a *mediate* Call, when God calls a man to the Government, by and with the conſent and concurrence of the people: And thus the Kings of Iſrael were called, by the conſent of the people, who conſtituted them; and it was the Peoples right by the Law of God to ſet the King over them, *Deut.* 17. 14, 15. 'twas the Peoples act that conſtituted the King. 2

Therefore we read all the People went to *Gilgal* to make *Saul* King, 1 *Sam.* 11. 15. The people made *David* King of *Judah*, 2 *Sam.* 2. 4. and afterwards all the Tribes of *Iſrael* came to *Hebron* to make him King of *Iſrael*, 1 *Chron.* 12. 38. *Solomon* was made King by all the Congregation, 1 *Chron.* 29. 20. All the People came to *Shechem* to make *Rehoboam* King, 2 *Chron.* 10. 1. and when he refuſed to eaſe them of their burdens and oppreſſions, rejected him, and made *Jeroboam* King, 1 *Kings* 12. 20. All the people of *Judah* took *Uzziah*, and made him King, 2 *Chron.* 26. 1. The people of the Land made *Joſiah* King, 2 *Chron.* 33. 25. The people of the Land took *Jehoahaz* and made him King, 2 *Chron.* 36. 1. The people made *Abimelech* King, *Judg.* 9. 6. By all which it plainly appears, that the right of making Kings was in the People.

The ſame we find concerning all other Magiſtrates and Officers, that the people were to make them by the Law of God, *Deut.* 16. 18. *Judges and Officers ſhalt thou make thee in all thy gates, which the Lord thy God giveth thee throughout thy Tribes, and they ſhall judge the people with juſt judgement.*

And indeed it is a piece of greateſt folly and imprudence for the people to part with their right of making Magiſtrates, either Supream or Subordinate: to commit the making of Judges and other Officers to the King,

King, is by interpretation a neglect of our own duty which the Law of God requires, an undervaluing of our birth-right, and a resignation of our Laws, Lives, Liberties, and Estates, to his will : which King *James* knew well enough to be an eminent expedient of King-craft, when he used to say, *Let me make what Judges and Bishops I will, and I will have nothing to be Law or Gospel but what I please.*

No wonder that the people of this Nation are so grievously oppressed by *Judges* and *Lawyers*, that the Law is so wrested, Justice perverted, and Violence committed, when they neglect their duty of making *Judges*, *Sheriffs*, *Justices* of the *Peace*, and other Officers, and commit it to the *King*; who will be sure to chuse such as shall advance his Prerogative, and debase the Peoples Liberty as much as lies in them, and dare do no other for fear of his displeasure; how easie a thing is it to take away any mans Life, Liberty, or Estate, which the King hath a desire to take away, and that under a pretence of Law, when the *Judge*, *Sheriff*, *Justices*, and *Jury*, are all his Creatures and Vassals; and the *Judge* must say that is Law which the *King* would have *so*, or else be turned out of his place, which usually he hath bought at the price of some Thousands of pounds.

The Sheriff must pick a Jury that he knowes before-hand will give what verdict the Judge bids them, or else be judged an *enemy* to the King : And the Justices upon the Bench, dare as well go upon hot coals, as oppose the Kings *Pleasure*.

And never will it be otherwise, unless the people grow so wise, as to challenge their right by the Law of God, to make Judges and Officers themselves, who may execute just Judgement.

If a People will be so base, as like *Esau*, to contemn their birth-right, and neglect their duty, & cowardly or carelesly to resign their Priviledges into the hands of a *King*; 'tis no wonder if they smart for it, as *England* at this day; if the people were so wise as to make Judges & all other Officers themselves, according to the Law of God, they could not be so abused as they are.

Object. *But doth not the Law say, that the people were to make him King whom the Lord should chuse?* Deut. 17. 15. *It should seem by this, that the people have not liberty to make such as they please, but are to accept of such as God hath appointed for the Government.*

Answ. This argued that God did intend often, out of his especial favour to *Israel*, to make the choice himself of the person that should reign over them; but this did not at all infringe the peoples rights or liberties; for the Lord to shew how tender he was of the peoples liberty, at the same time when he chose for them, appointed them to constitute

ſtitute him. God choſe him, but they made him King. I ſhall not deny, but if God be pleaſed at any time in an extraordinary manner to chooſe a Governour for us, and ſend a Prophet to make known his mind to us, as he did *Samuel* to appoint *Saul*, and after him *David*; *Ahijah* to appoint *Jeroboam*; *Eliſha* to appoint *Jehu*, it is our duty to make him King: But God doth not do ſo with other Nations as he did with *Iſrael*. He hath not ſent any Prophet to tell us whom he appoints, but hath left all Nations to their undubitable birth-right, to conſtitute ſuch Governours over them, as in the beſt of their underſtanding are rightly qualified for it.

Object. *But doth not Conqueſt or Hereditary Succeſſion manifeſt the will of God to us, and oblige us to conſtitute a perſon, now that extraordinary way of revealing the mind of God by Prophets ceaſes.*

Sol. As for Conqueſt, the pretence of a right to the Government over others from it, is ſo groſly irrational and injurious to mankind, that it ſcarcely deſerves an Anſwer; a Title not allowed by the tamer ſort of bruit beaſts, a title fit to be owned among none but beaſts of prey. For what is Conqueſt (ſimply conſidered) but Violence? and the continuation thereof but a continued Oppreſſion?

I know the Advocates of Tyranny, urge that of *Nebuchadezzar's* Title to govern *Judah* and all the Nations round about by Conqueſt; and of the Lords Peoples right to the Land of *Canaan*, and the neighbour Nations by the ſame, but it is a groſſe miſtake. For the right *Nebuchadnezzar* had to the Land of *Judah*, was not by Conqueſt, but Donation from God, and the Lord ſent the Prophet *Jeremiah* to tell the People of *Iſrael* and all the Nations round about, That he had given all thoſe Kingdoms to *Nebuchadnezzar* and his Sons for the ſpace of ſeventy years, and threatens to puniſh that Nation that would not ſerve him, with the Sword, Famine and Peſtilence, *Jer.* 27. 1, to 9. So likewiſe, 'twas the Lord's Donation that gave *Iſrael* a Title to thoſe Nations, and we know well, *That the Earth is the Lords, and the fulneſs thereof, and he may give it to whom he pleaſeth.* If any one can prove infallibly, that God hath made him a grant of the Kingdom of *England*, to him and his Heirs for ſeventy years or more, I think it our duty to acquieſce in the ſoveraign will and good pleaſure of God, and not to oppoſe it; but if this cannot be proved, it is in vain to plead Conqueſt, Force and Right are as oppoſite to one another as Light and Darkneſs. A Pirate that hath conquered a Ship may plead as much right to govern it as a Conqueror to govern a Common-wealth.

And as for Succeſſion by Birth, though it be an Argument of a paler Complexion than Conqueſt, (which is a Title died in Blood) yet

hath it as little strength as the other. My meaning is, that Royal Primogeniture alone, without the Peoples Consent, is no rightful Title to the Government. Or, that the eldest Son or Heir of a King, lawfully begotten (to say nothing of Bastards) hath no right to the Government by Birth, unless the People consent to Choose him thereunto.

Which I prove thus.

1. Because it is directly contrary to the Law of Nature in many respects.

First, It makes the whole inferiour to a part, yea to one member, which is most absurd, for if a man may Govern over a Common-wealth without their consent, then are they inferiour to him; the Will of one man must be preferred above the Will of the whole, perhaps many millions.

Secondly, This pretence of a right to the Government by Birth, ravisheth Nature it self, offers violence to her. For, whereas she justly claims a power constitutive of Magistrates, and hath derived it to the People as her Trustees, this Argument would deprive both them and her thereof.

That Nature hath committed the constitution of Governours to the People, is clear, because she hath not determined the Heirs of Kings any more than others; yea Nature is often more liberal in bestowing her Magistratical endowments on many thousands (sometimes on the greatest number of men) than on the Royal Progeny, as they are called; and gives more Wisdom, Courage, Kindness, Temperance, Faithfulness and Justice to common People than to the Eldest Son of a King.

How many thousands in a Nation might be found whose natural temperament is more enclinable to Virtue then we often see a Kings to be. Now all wise men know 'tis Virtue that enobles the Spirit, and makes it capable of highest undertakings.

How often may we see Kings fierce in their Countenance, cruel in their Natures, implacable, ungrateful, effeminate, false, luxurious, and universally vitious, and these things even radicated in their Complexions, when there are many thousand persons, of a common, yet more truly noble extract? amiable in their Countenance, affable in their Carriage, faithful in their Promise, temperate in their Manners, and generally enclined to Virtue. Now surely if Nature hath designed any one to Superiority, it is the most virtuous. Therefore I conclude, *That Nature is no Friend to this Hereditary Title.*

It is just matter of laughter and disdain, to read those ignorant and impudent pretences which some men make to the Government from Nature,

Nature, when the ſtreets abound daily with multitudes that by Natures Law have a better Title to it than themſelves.

Thirdly, This pretence formalizeth all the Commonwealth Vaſſals. It pronounceth the People home-born Slaves. Which, what ingenuous ſpirit can bear? For, if all the People muſt, againſt their Wills, be ſubject to one man, and honour, maintain and obey him, what more perfect character of Vaſſalage than this? Thoſe wretches that knowingly plead for this Title, deſerve to be ſtigmatized in the foreheads as common enemies to mankind.

Fourthly, Nay, this pretence of a right to the Government by Birth, without the conſent of the People, diveſts the People of all Power of Self-preſervation; for the Office of the Magiſtrate (as I ſhall ſhew more hereafter) is to protect and defend the People, and the common ſecurity of the People lyes in having good Governours: Now if the Eldeſt Son of a King be a perſon vitiouſly enclined, one given to malice, revenge, luxury, intemperance, avarice, falſity, or the like Vices, and yet the People bound to accept of him for their Governour becauſe of his Birth, they muſt be bound to renounce their own ſafety, and embrace deſtruction; which the Law of Nature forbids, and common Reaſon will abhor.

Thus you ſee how this pretended Birth-right to the Government doth violate the Law of Nature, and tend to cheat the People of their real Birth-rights, Liberty and Security. Let us enquire a little into Scripture, and we ſhall find that it is as contrary to Scripture as Nature.

2. The Scripture gives not the leaſt countenance unto this pretended Title of Birth-right to the Government; and no wonder, for it never was the intent of God, to repeal the Law of Nature by Scripture, but to explain and confirm the ſame. But that I may argue diſtinctly, conſider theſe particulars.

Firſt, The Law of God concerning the making of a King, hath not a word of this: The Law doth not enjoyn the People to make the Eldeſt Son of a King Governour in his Fathers ſtead, or ſpeaks of an Hereditary Title to the Crown, but plainly intimates the contrary, *Deut.* 17. 15, to the end. For firſt, the Law requires qualifications in him that the People were to ſet over them; He muſt be one thus and thus qualified, which I ſhall open more fully in the next Chapter. Now if the King muſt be one ſo and ſo qualified, it plainly intimates, that there was no ſuch Title to the Government as Birth-right. For, if the Eldeſt Son of a King were not ſo qualified, the People could not ſet him over them, without diſobeying the Law of God.

Again, The Law layes conditions of Government upon the King,

upon the observation whereof, He and his Children are to prolong their dayes in the Kingdom. He must not multiply Horses to himself, nor Wives, nor greatly multiply Silver and Gold. He must read in the Law of God all the dayes of his life, that he may learn to fear God and keep all his Statutes; and he must not lift up his heart above his Brethren, nor turn aside from Gods Commandement to the right hand or the left; and if he and his children did thus, they were to continue in the Kingdom. But now suppose a King and his Children will multiply Horses, Silver and Gold to themselves, and lay unreasonable Taxes on the People to maintain their pride and luxury, live in the presumptuous violation of the Law of God, and lift up their hearts above their Brethren, lord and domineer over them, and break all the conditions of Government; Were the People bound to accept of the Eldest Son of the King to succeed his Father in the Throne? No such thing. They breaking the Conditions of Government forfeit their Right, and the People might lawfullly set another over them, as they did when *Rehoboam* presumptuously rejected the Law of God, and would not ease them of their Burdens, 1 *Kings*, 12. 16. chooſing *Jeroboam* in his stead.

2. The special grant that God made of the Kingdom to *David*, and his Seed, doth not in the least favour this Hereditary Title. For,

1. The Promise was not that the Kingdom should descend to his Posterity, in an Hereditary manner, that the Eldest Son should succeed the Father in the Throne; if any of *Davids* Sons were made King by the People, it was as much as God had promised *David*, or the People were bound to. For neither did the Law of God, nor the grant made to *David* oblige the People to the Eldest Son; and therefore we read that *Solomon* succeeded *David* in the Throne, a younger Brother to *Adonijah*, but a wiser man, and no question upon that account preferred before him, and promoted to the Kingdom.

2. That Deed of Gift made to *David* and his Seed, was not absolute but conditional; upon condition that they kept the Law of God and executed his judgements, they were to continue in the Throne, 1 *King.* 6. 12. —— 1 *King.* 8. 25. —— 1 *King.* 2, 3, 4. But when *Solomon* and *Rehoboam* his Son had violated the Conditions of Government, the People cast off *Rehoboams* yoke from their shoulders; and good reason, for they were bound to him and his Seed only upon condition they observed the Law of God; and therefore by his rebellion against God, and resolution to tyrannize over them, they had a just discharge from subjection to him and his Heirs. And a Nation can oblige themselves

to

to any man and his posterity, no otherwise than conditionally, upon condition they observe the Law of God and execute his Judgments: for to make an absolute Engagement to a Prince, to receive his eldest Son, and accordingly his Posterity for their Governours, what kind of persons soever they may prove, were contrary to the Law of Nature, a giving away their own and posterities Birthrights, and to the Law of God, which requires qualifications in Governours, which will be more fully cleared in the next Chapter.

Object. *But we reade that* Jehoshaphat *when he died gave the Kindom to* Jehoram, *because he was the first-born*, 2 Chron. 21. 3. *and the People made* Ahaziah *the youngest son of* Jehoram *King in his fathers stead, for the Band of men had slain all the eldest*, 2 Chron. 22. 1. *Doth not this prove that the first-born, or eldest son of a King hath a right to the Crown after his fathers decease?*

Sol. Not at at all. For whereas it is said *Jehoshaphat* gave him the Kingdom, that implies that it was in his power to have chosen whether he would have given it him or no; and that *Jehoram* had not the Kingdom by inheritance, or of right, but by his fathers gift: and the meaning is this, *Jehoshaphat*, with the Peoples consent, bestowed the Kingdom upon *Jehoram* his eldest son: for otherwise *Jehoshaphat* had no power, either by the Law of God or Nature, to give the Kingdom of *Israel*; but *Jehoshaphat* being such a holy man and good Governour, had won the Peoples affections so much, that they were contented to grant his desire that his eldest son should succeed him. For if *Jehoshaphat* should have given away the Kingdom without the Peoples consent, it had been wickedly and injustly done, and therefore I dare not entertain such a thought of good *Jehoshaphat*.

The other Instance is as void of proof. For if it should be granted, that if the eldest Son had been living, or any of the elder Brethren, the People would have made the eldest King; yet it doth not follow they were bound to do so, or that it was the birthright of the eldest Son to succeed his Father. It is possible that the People might in an ordinary way set up the eldest Son in his Father's room, because usually the eldest might be supposed to be the fittest for it, as having most knowledge and experience; and the Father commonly hath the greatest love for his eldest Son, and would improve his interest in the Judges, Rulers and Officers, as well as the People, for his eldest Son's succession, and for other reasons; but it will not follow hence that it was the Birthright of the eldest Son. And yet I do not remember that the Scripture doth mention above one example of the eldest Son's succeeding the Father among all the Seed of *David* that sate upon the Throne, and that

was

was *Jehoram* above mentioned, and he had the Kingdom by gift, not in his own right. And we find *Solomon*, a younger Brother, succeeding his Father: and *Abijah*, who succeeded *Rehoboam*, seems to be a younger Brother, for the Scripture mentions elder sons that *Rehoboam* had by another wife, 2 *Chron.* 11. 19, 20. but *Rehoboam* loved *Maacah*, *Abijah's* mother, more than all his wives, and therefore improved his interest to make him King. You see then, notwithstanding these Objections, that the People have an undoubted right of making their Governours according to the Law of God; and that there is no just or rightful title to the Government of Nations, without the consent of the People.

CHAP. IV.

Treating of the Qualifications of Magistrates, evincing by the Light of Reason, Law of God, End of Government, and other Arguments, that the People are bound to chuse such as are endued with the Spirit of Government, wise and faithful men, fearing God, and hating Covetousness, to be Governours over them.

I Have shewn you in the last Chapter, that by the Law of God and Nature, the People have an unquestionable right of making their Governours both supream and subordinate; I intend by the Lord's assistance in this Chapter, to make it clear, That the People are bound to chuse men endued with the Spirit of Government thereunto.

1. Then, from the Light of Nature it is evident, that such only should be intrusted with the Government, as are endued with the *Spirit of Government*. Doth not Reason it self teach men in all their private concernments to entrust the managing thereof with persons fitly qualified? what wise man would commit the government of his Family to an imprudent or unfaithful Steward? the education of his Children to an ignorant or negligent Schoolmaster? the government of his Workmen in any kind of Manufacture, to one that wants discretion or honesty? the care of a Flock of Sheep, to a careless or unskilful Shepherd? or put his Son Apprentice, to a Master that neither understands nor regards his Trade?

Hath Nature taught us to be so cautious in these lesser concernments, and careless of the greater? to intrust none but such as are able and faithful with any matters of lesser moment, and to commit our Laws, Lives, Liberties, Relations, Estates and good-names to the trust of such,

of

of whose ability and integrity we have no evidence? All this is committed to the Magistrate.

Is a negligent and careless person unfit to govern a few Boyes in a School, and yet such a one fit to govern a Nation, whose number is as the sand of the Sea? Is a faithless, prodigal, and dishonest man unworthy to be made a Steward of one Family, and yet such a one fit to make a Steward for three Nations? Is one that makes no conscience of his word, unfit to be trusted with the care of a flock of Sheep, and yet such a one fit to be trusted with the care of the Laws, Lives, Liberties, Estates and Concernments of many millions of Men? Is a careless, faithless, deboist person, unfit to govern two or three Apprentices, and yet such a one fit to govern Towns, Cities, Countries, yea, populous Nations themselves? I appeal to any man, who hath but the least spark of Reason in him, whether this be not highly irrational?

And yet alas, how few are there to be found, among the multitude of men that inhabit this Nation, who are half so careful of the weightier matters of Publick Concernment, as of the *Anise*, *Mint* and *Cummin* of their private affairs!

Much like to a company of Passengers that are going to Sea, every one looks after his own Goods to secure them from dammage, but little regard what Pilot and Mariners they have; but when they are upon the Sea, woful experience convinceth them of their folly. Their Pilot is unskilful or negligent, their Mariners as bad; and now they begin to repent; O that we had been so wise as to have chosen a better Pilot and Mariners! but it is too late, he hath got them aboard, and there he keeps them, till at length through his folly or negligence he runs the Vessel on the Sands, where many of them lose their Goods and Lives together.

What a Pilot and Mariners the multitude have chosen, woful experience hath now taught them.

O *England*, why sleepest thou? 'tis high time to awake! Thy Pilot and Mariners eat, drink and make merry with thy sadding, and have no regard to thee; the winds blow, the waves beat, the storm encreases, thy Tackling is bad, thy Compass false, thou art very near the Rocks or Sands; and unless the Lord in mercy look upon thee, thou wilt be suddenly split or sunk. If ever the Lord bring thee safe to harbour again, be wiser for time to come, make choice of a better Pilot and Mariners for thy next Voyage.

But let us see what Instances we can find from the *very Heathens* themselves, who have acknowledged this, That men endued with the Spirit of Government are to be chosen thereunto.

Pharaoh

Pharoah could say this of *Joseph*, *Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom the Spirit of God is? Forasmuch as there is none so wise and discreet as thou art, thou shalt be over mine house, and according to thy word shall all my people be ruled*, Gen. 41. 38, to 41. Mark here, what the Light of Nature and Reason dictates to a Heathen.

1. That there are no men so fit for Government as those in whom the Spirit of God is.

2. That the wisest and discreetest men, and such as have the Spirit of God, ought to be preferred to places of the highest Authority.

3. That Magistrates are not to be chosen by their Honours or Riches but by their Vertues; not such as have empty Titles of *Knights*, *Lords*, *Dukes* or the like, and a base ignoble spirit under it; but such as are *wise*, *discreet*, and have the Spirit of God in them. No question but *Pharoah* had Noblemen and Rich men enough to have preferred to that place, but the Light of Nature convinced him, that *Joseph* was fitter than all they.

4. That lowness of condition, as to worldly things, is no just bar to hinder a wise discreet man, in whom the Spirit of God is, from the greatest trust in Government. *Joseph* was a slave, sold into *Egypt*, after that a prisoner cast into a Dungeon, and yet for all this, the very *Heathens* prefer this man above all the *Noblemen* in the Land.

Object. It will be objected, *This was an extraordinary case*; Joseph *had skil in interpreting Dreams*; *there was an eminent Character set upon him by God, enough to convince any man that he was the fittest man for that trust.*

Sol. The reason why *Joseph* was advanced to that great Trust, was not barely for his Interpretation of the Dream, but for the wise Counsel he gave thereupon: the Lord had not only shewed him the Dream, but the way how to preserve the Land; the Counsel he gave, was rational and discreet, and pleased *Pharoah* and all his Servants, *ver.* 37. and because he was a wise and discreet Counsellor, able to govern the Land better than any that was in it, therefore they chose him: *Josephs* skill in interpreting Dreams, would not have fitted him for the Government of *Egypt*, without a Spirit of Counsel and Prudence to manage the weighty Affairs thereof. One gift doth not fit a man for every Function. *Pharoah* by conference with him, found him to be a wise and discreet Counsellor, and therefore exalted him.

Darius (though a *Heathen*) preferred *Daniel* above all the *Presidents* and *Princes* of the Empire, because he had a more excellent Spirit than they, *Dan.* 6. 3. the Light of Nature taught him, that dignity was the just reward of Vertue; no question but he had many thousands in his Dominions who excelled *Daniel* in greatness and riches; but *Daniel* excelled

led them in Wiſdom and Goodneſs; *Daniels* Wiſdom and Underſtanding, out-weighed all their Titles and Treaſures, and was of more advantage to the Empire. So that let a very *Heathen* be Judge, and he will tell you that thoſe who have the moſt excellent Spirits, ſhould be advanced to the higheſt Truſts in Government.

Another Inſtance is that of *Artaxerxes*, another *Heathen*, who commiſſionates *Ezra* to make ſuch as knew the Law of God, *Rulers* over all the People beyond the River, *Ezra* 7.25. *Oh what ſhame doth this ſpeak to* England! where Men that are ignorant of, yea, that hate the Law of God, are every where made *Rulers* over others.

The word *Know* (there uſed) is a Word of ſenſe, and ſignifies an affectionate Knowledge, ſuch a Knowledge as is accompanied with Love; it is a comprehenſive Word; it is as much as if he ſhould have ſaid, It is my reſolution to have the Law of thy God obſerved; I know thee to be a man full of Wiſdom, Zeal, and Faithfulneſs, to God and thy Country, and therefore I commit this weighty Affair to thee; look out ſuch men as have underſtanding in, love to, and zeal for the Law of thy God, and make them *Rulers* over the People beyond the River.

In like manner *Jethro*, Prieſt (or rather Prince of *Midian* (for the word ſignifies both) adviſeth *Moſes* to provide out of all the People, *able Men*, ſuch as fear God, Men of truth, and hating Covetouſneſs, (four neceſſary Qualifications) and make them *Rulers* over the People. I do not find any ground from the Text, to conceive that *Jethro* gave this Counſel to *Moſes* by any ſpecial Revelation, but being a wiſe and underſtanding man, he gave ſuch Counſel, as Reaſon it ſelf dictates to all men; which will appear plainly, if we weigh thoſe Qualifications *Jethro* mentions in the Ballance of Reaſon.

For doth not Reaſon tell us, That men who are not able for an employment, are not to be entruſted with it? That men of falſhood, who make no conſcience of their word or promiſe, are unworthy of the Government of others? That covetous, private-ſpirited men, who love money, and make haſt to be rich, are not fit to be truſted with the execution of Juſtice? is it likely that ſuch men will faithfully ſerve God and their Country, whoſe hearts run after Covetouſneſs? And if the light of Nature teach us that there is a God, it tells us that He is to be feared; and that *Magiſtrates*, who are to govern others, ſhould in an eſpecial manner be ſuch as *fear* God themſelves: For if *Magiſtrates* have no fear of God, what opportunity have they to diſcountenance Virtue, and encourage Vice, and ſo bring down the wrath of God upon the Land?

Therefore *Plato* writes for a Government which he calls, *Ariſtocracy*;

that is, such a form of Government where the best men are made Governours; and that must needs be the best Government where the best men bear rule.

You see then how the Light of Nature and Reason doth instruct us to chuse the wisest and best men for Governours; and may not men be ashamed and blush, to call themselves *Christians*, who are in practice below *Heathens*.

Oh my native Country! what Lamentation shall I take up for thee? how are thy Foundations out of course? how art thou fallen from the Light of Nature, and Principles of Reason it self? Who is that Man thou canst produce among thy *Magistrates* and *Rulers*, that may indeed be justly called a Man of Truth, and fearing God? Where is that excellent Spirit of true Wisdom and Understanding to be found among thy *Leaders*? Are such as have the Spirit of God and true Discretion, advanced to the Government? Is it not now become a Crime sufficient to depose a Governour, to be a man that feareth God?

O let it not be told in *Egypt*, nor published in the streets of *Media*, that *England* turns men out of Government, because the Spirit of God is in them, and they do excel in Virtue; let not the Prince of *Median* here how *Jethro's* Counsel is rejected, and men that have no wisdom, truth, or fear of God, made Rulers of the Land. Repent in time of thy transgression of the very Law of Nature, while thou dost profess the Gospel, lest *Pharoah*, *Plato*, *and Darius*, with all the wisest of the *Heathens*, rise up in judgement, and condemn thee; for they have judged the best of men, and such as did excel in Virtue, worthy of greatest Exaltation; but thou in midst of Gospel-Light, ladest them with reproach and scorn, and the wicked walk on every side while the vilest men are exalted.

2. It being evident from the Light of Reason, that men rightly qualified with the Spirit of Government, are only fit to be entrusted with it. Let us enquire what the Law of God saith to this point, and certainly we shall find, that the Law of Nature and Scripture do most exactly agree as well in this as other things.

The first Scripture I shall mention, is *Deut.* 17. 14, to end, where there are several Qualifications required in him whom the People were to make King, either expresly or implicitely.

1. He must be a *Brother*; which word is of a large extent, for it imports one of their own Country and Religion; they were not to set a stranger over them, that is a stranger in either: for the People of *Israel* were Brethren, not only by Nation, but Religion, and it enjoyned them to set one over them who was a member of the Church of God; and

and without doubt that was the principal reason for which this Rule was given, lest if they should have set any of the Idolatrous Kings of the Nations over them, he should draw them to Idolatry: And surely it layes an Obligation upon Christians and Protestants, to set one of their Brethren over them, not one who will bring in *Popery*, *Superstition*, and *Idolatry* into the Land.

2. The Lord tells the People, that the King whom they were to make, should write a copy of his Law, and read therein all the dayes of his life, that he might learn to fear the Lord; which doth manifestly instruct the People, to set one over them who was capable of performing those Duties, and resolved to obey the Command of God; for if the *King* must read all his dayes in the Law of God, and learn to keep all his Statutes; would not common Reason infer this, that the People who were to make a King, should not make an ignorant person that were unable, or a profane person, that were unwilling to study the Law of God? Indeed all the other duties which the Lord acquaints the People with beforehand, were so many directions for them to set up one qualified for those duties; for if the King was not to multiply Silver or Gold to himself, surely this instructed the People not to make a *covetous person* King; if the *King* must not lift up himself above his Brethren, it taught them to make a humble, tender-hearted man King, not a proud domineering person, who would lord it over the Lord's Heritage, and enslave them: and so may be said of all the other duties of the King; each duty of the King, is a direction to the People, to constitute one qualified for it.

Object. *But this Law was given to Israel, how doth it appear it binds other Nations?*

Sol. By the nature of the Law it is moral, and so universal, and perpetual. There are indeed one or two Particulars that were peculiar to the *Jewish* State. *First*, They must set one over them whom the Lord should chuse, which implieed that God intends out of his especial grace and favour to them (as his Church) to chuse the man himself for them sometimes, yet they were to make him King: but God doth not so for other Nations, but hath left us to chuse for our selves, according to the Light of Reason and Scripture. Again, their King was not to send the People to *Egypt*, because the Lord had forbid the People of Israel to return thither any more; which our *King* may do upon a just occasion; but the substance of the Law is of a moral nature, and obligeth all Kings and People whatsoever, That the King should not multiply Silver, Gold, Wives, or Horses to himself, and thereby impoverish the People, and suffer his heart to be drawn from God; that he should have

a copy of the Law of God, and read therein all the dayes of his life; learn to fear God, and keep his Statutes, and not lift up his heart above his Brethren, is all Moral, and doth oblige other Kings as well as the Kings of Israel.

That a People professing the true Religion, should not set over them one of a strange Religion, to bring in Idolatry and False-worship (which was the intent of that clause, *Thou shalt not set a stranger over thee*) That they should take care to set up a man in the Throne, who is able and willing to perform the Duties God requires of a King, is all Moral, and obligeth the People of *England*, as much as it did the People of *Israel*.

The next Scripture I shall produce for confirmation of this Truth, is 2 *Sam.* 23. 3. *The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men, must be just, ruling in the fear of God.* You see here, the *Rock of Israel* hath appointed two great Qualifications in those that rule over men; *Justice*, and the *Fear of God*.

Object. *These places shew only the Magistrates duty, not any Qualifications necessary to the Office of a Magistrate; this proves that Magistrates are bound to observe those duties, not that the People are bound to chuse none but such men as are just, and fear God, to be Governours.*

Sol. The very same Sophistry do the wicked and scandalous Priests use to cheat the poor People withal, and lull them asleep, that they may make a prey of them in the mean while.

The Lord sayes, 1 *Tim.* 3. *A Bishop or Overseer* (for so the word is in the Greek) *must be blameless, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, apt to teach, not greedy of filthy lucre, not given to Wine, no stricker, but patient, not a brawler, nor covetous.* The Priest is a proud, covetous, drunken, deboist person, and the poor People must be compelled to own him for a Minister of Christ, who hath never a Qualification of a true Minister in him: if they complain, we cannot own him for a true Minister; a Minister must be thus and thus qualified, he is the contrary; they are answered, O those are indeed the Duties of a Minister, but not the Qualifications necessary to the Being of a Minister; a man may be a true Minister if he be ordained, though he walk contrary to these Duties, and you are bound to own his Ministry nevertheless, because it is an Ordinance of God.

So in this case we cannot deny, say they, but a Magistrate should be just, ruling in the fear of God, it's his duty so to do: but what if he be unjust, and cast away the fear of God, he is a true Magistrate notwithstanding, and you are bound in Conscience to own his Authority as the Ordinance of God. By this kind of Sophistry the Devil maintains his Kingdom

Kingdom, and the *Beast* and *False-Prophet* theirs, to the utter ruin of the Bodies and Souls of men.

These are the two grand Cheats wherewith the World is abused, by wicked and *unworthy persons*, pretending to Authority from God, to govern both *Church* and *State*, when they are utterly destitute of those Qualifications God hath laid down for the election of persons into those Offices: and indeed it is hard to say, which is the greater cheat of the two. Blessed be God, many discern the *Cheat* of an *ignorant*, *proud*, *covetous* and *prophane Ministry*, and will not own it for an Ordinance of God. I doubt not, through God's assistance, to make it evident to the World, that a *wicked*, *tyrannous*, and *oppressing* Magistracy, is no more Gods Ordinance than the other; and that the People are bound to reject both, and set up *able men*, Men of Truth, fearing God, and hating covetousness, in the Magistracy as well as Ministry; and that all who are not thus qualified, are but meer Counterfeits and Pretenders.

For whereas these men pretend, that the Characters which the Scriptures give of true Magistrates and Ministers, do only shew their duty, not any Qualifications that are necessary to the constitution of them; it is a meer falsity. For the Spirit of God hath on purpose laid down Characters of a true Magistracy and Ministry, that the People who have the Power of electing both, put into their hands by God, should not suffer his Ordinances to be prophaned, but chuse Men after his heart for both functions of Magistracy and Ministry.

The Apostle commands *Titus* to ordain Elders in every City (that is Ministers) but upon this condition, that there were any to be found that were qualified according to the mind of God, *Titus* 1. 5, to 8. and layes down several Characters to signifie what Qualifications God required in Ministers.

If any be blameless, &c. and so goes on with many Qualifications which you may read there; and whereas the Apostle bids *Titus* ordain Elders, he doth not mean *Titus* singly, but joyntly, with the consent of the Church; as is intimated in that clause, *As I have appointed thee*. Now the Apostle would not appoint *Titus* to do otherwise than he himself did and the rest of the Apostles; but it is plain that the People chose their Officers, *Acts* 6. 3, and 5 verses, the whole multitude chose *Stephen* and the rest. So *Acts* 14. 23. *When they had ordained them Elders in every Church*, 'tis in your Translation; but learned *Beza* renders it thus, *Communibus suffragis creamus eis Presbyteros*; they made them Elders (or Ministers) by common suffrage or consent, the multitude gave their votes and chose them, and then the Apostles confirmed them by Fasting and Prayer; but this by the way. However they were to be made,

yet

yet not without Miniſterial Qualifications; *Titus* and the People together had no power to make an ignorant or ſcandalous man a Miniſter of Chriſt.

The very ſame doth the Scripture hold forth concerning Magiſtrates, that the People are to look out Men rightly qualified with magiſtratical Endowments, for the Office of Magiſtracy.

When *Moſes* put that prudent Counſel of *Jethro* in execution, according to the mind of God, he bids the People look out ſuch men as were ſpirited for Government, *Deut.* 1. 13. *Take ye wiſe Men, and underſtanding, and known among your Tribes*, it is tranſlated; but I ſuppoſe it might have been better rendered.

1. *Take ye wiſe men*, אנשים חכמים *Sapientes*, this word is uſed frequently for the beſt ſort of Wiſdom, true ſpiritual Wiſdom, ſaving Knowledge, *Prov.* 13. 20. *Prov.* 10. 8. *Pſal.* 19. 7. *The Teſtimonies of the Lord make wiſe the ſimple.* *Moſes* bid the People look out men that underſtood the Law of God, that was the Wiſdom he bid them have an eye to; even as *Artaxerxes* bid *Ezra* (as I have ſhewn before.) That which *Jethro* called the Fear of God, *Moſes* calls Wiſdom; and no wonder, for that is the only *true Wiſdom*, *Job* 28. 28. *Pſal.* 111. 10. *Prov.* 7. It is as if he ſhould have ſaid, My Father-in-law, *Jethro*, gave me good Counſel, I give the ſame to you, Look out ſuch Men as are *truly wiſe*, that *fear God*; they will make conſcience of their Duty to God and you; but if you chuſe men void of that *true Wiſdom*, the *Fear of God*, they will have little or no regard to the Honour of God, or your Good.

2. *Men of Underſtanding*, ונבונים *et prudentes*, prudent Men, Men of Counſel, as *Jer.* 49. 7. *Is Counſel periſhed from the Prudent?* 1 *Sam.* 16. 18. *David* is ſaid to be a man *prudent in matters*; in both theſe places there is the ſame word that is mentioned by *Moſes*; and generally this word is taken for a *wiſe Counſellor*. So that *Moſes* bids the People chooſe ſuch men for Magiſtrates as were *prudent Counſellors*. Every wiſe man, or every one that fears God, is not fit to be a Magiſtrate, he muſt be a *prudent Man* alſo, one that is able to adviſe in matters of weight and concernment, relating to the publick Affairs of the Land.

3. *Known Men*, וידעים that is, men that have been tryed, that have given proof of their Integrity and Uprightneſs, that are known to be true and cordial to the Service of God, and their Generation; for the word is taken for experienced, *Iſa.* 53. 3. *A man acquainted with grief*; that is, one that hath been tryed and experienced in it. So that *Moſes* directs the People to look out ſuch men who had been tryed, and were known to be faithful, publick-ſpirited, ſelf-denying perſons; ſuch as *Caleb* and *Joſhua*, who had followed the Lord fully in an hour of temp-

tation,

tation, and adventured their lives for the Peoples good. These are the *Men* that are fit to be *Rulers* over the People, that will adventure their All for the People. *Ulysses* was a man tryed, the *Grecians* had had large experience of his Wisdom and Faithfulness to them, and therefore they honoured him.

Joseph gives the like counsel to *Pharaoh*, Gen. 41. 33. *Let Pharaoh look out a man discreet and wise, and set him over the Land*, איש נבון וחכם *Virum prudentem & sapientem*; the very same words that *Moses* uses; and indeed the same Counsel that *Moses* by the Spirit of God gave the *Israelites*; did *Joseph* by the same Spirit give the *Egyptians*, and they took his Counsel, *The thing pleased Pharaoh and all his Servants*, Vers. 37. They liked his Counsel well, and because they could find none that had so much true Wisdom and Prudence together as he had, *Pharaoh set him over the Land.*

Thus *Nehemiah* set *Hananiah* over *Jerusalem* because he was a faithful man and feared God above many, *Nehem.* 7. 2. and *Chap.* 13. 13. He set *Shelemiah*, *Zadok* and *Pedajah* over the Treasuries, and *Hanan* next to them, because they were accounted faithful men.

Thus you see how the Law of God requires the People to look out men that are endowed with the spirit of Government, and to make them Rulers, and what Presidents the Word of God hath left us of the same.

O therefore beware you that are Teachers of others, that through your own ignorance of the Law of God, or slavish fear of wicked Rulers, or a base love of filthy lucre, you do not cause the People to stumble in the Law of God; lest he make you base and contemptible before all the People, because ye have been partial in the Law, *Mal.* 2. 8, 9.

The God of *Israel* hath said, *He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God.* He that hath said, *A Minister must be blameless, sober, of good behaviour*, &c. 1 Tim. 3. Hath said, *A Magistrate must be just, ruling in the fear of God*, 2 Sam. 23. 3. And will you say that a wicked Minister or Magistrate is God's Ordinance? Take heed of being partiall in the Law.

3. Having shewed you how the Light of Reason and Law of God do concur, in the confirmation of this Truth, *That none but such as are endued with the Spirit of Government should be entrusted with it*, I come to another Argument drawn from the End of Government.

Every Means should be adequate to its End, such as may be effectual to accomplish the End it was appointed for. The End for which Magistrates were made, was, *The Glory of God*, and *Good of the People.* Magistrates are the Means for accomplishing

pliſhing this end; and can it be conceived that perſons deſtitute of *Wiſdom*, *Prudence*, *Faithfulneſs*, *Juſtice*, or the *fear of God*, are qualified for this End?

Will ſuch a one ever ſeek to *Honour God* in the Government, as hath no *Love* to him, or *Fear* of him? to encourage *Virtue*, who is himſelf a *Slave to Vice*? Will ſuch a one ſeek the *Peoples Good* who regards not his own? Is one that knows not, yea that hates the Law of God, fit to be entruſted with the execution thereof? Is a Drunken Magiſtrate a fit mean to reduce a People to Sobriety? A Profane Magiſtrate a mean to encourage Piety? When experience daily confirms the Truth of that,

Regis ad exemplum, totus componitur Orbis;
The whole World follow the Example of their King?

Is a Perfidious perſon who makes light of the violation of his Faith, a mean to promote Truth and Honeſty? if it be, it is *per accidens*, through the goodneſs of God, who brings good out of evil; and ſo I hope the Perfidiouſneſs of theſe Governours will be a warning to the People to chooſe more Faithful Conſcientious Men for time to come.

The Heathens could ſay, *Deus & Natura nil facinnt fruſtra*; *God and Nature make nothing in vain*: But that accurſed Opinion, *That a Wicked Magiſtrate is Gods Ordinance*, under a pretence and vizard of Peace and Quietneſs, doth even fly in the face of God himſelf, and charge him with ſetting up ſo great an Ordinance over all mankind, which is but a vain thing: For certainly that is in vain which is not able to accompliſh its End; ſo that to call a wicked Magiſtrate *God's Ordinance*, is to reproach our Maker.

My Word, (ſaith the Lord) *ſhall not return unto me void, but ſhall accompliſh that which I pleaſe, and proſper in the thing whereunto I ſent it*, Iſa. 55. 11. *Word*, is not here to be reſtrained to the Word Preached, but is taken in a large ſence; *my Word* of Command, Promiſe Threatning, *my Word* of Conſolation, Commination, or Inſtitution of mine Ordinances, *it ſhall all proſper in the thing whereto I ſent it. I appoint nothing that is not ſufficient for its End.* Now the End of that Inſtitution of Magiſtracy, being the *Glory of God*, *and Good of the People*, in the *praiſe of them that do well*, and *puniſhment of thoſe that do evil*. A vile perſon is no more a mean for it, than a profane perſon is a mean for bringing *Glory to God*, and doing *Good to the People* in the Miniſtry.

Object. *But may not a wicked Miniſter or Magiſtrate be an Inſtrument of good to others, though he be bad himſelf?*

Sol. 1. He may accidentally. I have heard of a Natural Fool that hath been inſtrumental to convert a wicked man, but he was never the fitter to be made a Miniſter of Chriſt therefore. A wicked Ruler may acciden-

accidentally be an Instrument of some good to a People, but this is no Argument for the lawfulness of choosing such a one to the Government. Magistrates are called *Healers*, Isa. 3.7. *Leaders*, Isa. 9.16. It is possible an ignorant person may hit upon a Medicine to cure a dangerous distemper, but would any wise man choose him for his Physician ever the sooner? A Fool & Coward may possibly do a piece of good service once, but is he therefore fit to be made a Leader? It is altogether as absurd to affirm, *That a wicked or unworthy person should be made a Magistrate.*

2. But where there is one wicked Magistrate that doth good for the People, there are twenty do mischief. That now and then a wicked Magistrate doth good for the People, may be written among Wonders and Prodigies, not to perswade us to choose such a one again, but to admire and adore the Wisdom and Goodness of God, who brings good out of evil, and makes wicked men sometimes become serviceable to him and his people, contrary to their own inclinations.

3. But if there be any wicked Magistrate who possibly doth some good, yet he doth a great deal more hurt, the evil outweighs the good.

4. In a word, That which makes any thing a Mean, is the proportion it bears to the End; if a thing be not adequate to the End 'tis no Mean. But a wicked and unworthy person, though he may do some good accidentally in the Magistracy, or may have some property or other commendable, is not adequate to the End of Government. *Nero*, *Vitellius*, *Caligula*, the veriest Monsters in the World, had some properties laudible; Yea the Devil himself hath something of good; he hath Knowledge, and Faith, and other things good in themselves; but a wicked man wants those qualifications, of true Wisdom, Faithfulness and the Fear of God, which might render him fit for accomplishing the End for which Magistracy was instituted.

O therefore, if you have any zeal for the Honour of God, shew it by standing up for those to be made Governours, who truly fear his holy Name, and will be careful of his glory.

Or, do you wish your Own, your Childrens, or the Nations Prosperity? then never give your Vote again for wicked Men to Rule the Land. You will acknowledge, that it is your duty in your places to promote the Glory of God, and Good of the Land of your Nativity; yea who is there that will not say, *Such a man that would not be willing to do this, were unworthy to live?* You see the Means for these Ends, 'tis by advancing Wise and Faithful Men, that Fear God, and Hate Covetousness, to the Government. Resolve if ever the Lord afford you an opportunity to choose Governours again, to look out men so qualified that may answer the Ends of Magistracy. Never foster up your selves with

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mad conceits, that you shall gather *grapes of thorns*, or *figs of thistles*, that wicked Magistrates will ever promote those glorious ends of God's Ordinance.

4. A fourth Argument to evince the truth of this, That none but such as are endued with the Spirit of Government, are to be intrusted with it, is,

If the setting up men void of wisdom, faithfulness, and the fear of God, in the Government, be the way to enact wicked Laws; Then such as are destitute of those qualifications are not to be set up. But the former is true; therefore the latter.

That wicked Magistrates will one way or other, by force or fraud, or both, get wicked Statutes to be made, is evident by the Scripture, History, and the Chronicles of all Nations. Thus the Lord complains of the wicked Kings of *Israel*, *Ezek.* 43. 7, 8. that they prophaned his holy Name, by *setting their posts by his posts, and their thresholds by his thresholds, and the wall between him and them*: and when once wicked Statutes are enacted, woful experience hath taught the world how hard it is to get them repealed. The Lord complains how the Statutes of *Omri* were kept above an hundred and threescore years after his reign, *Mica.* 6. 16. and the People of *Israel* walked in the wicked Statutes of the Kings which they had made so long, till they were carried captives to *Assyria*, 2 *King.* 17. 8.

And had I time to mention all the wicked Statutes which have been made by means of the wicked Kings of this Nation, and are yet in force, it would make you stand amazed, to think how *They*, the *Lawyers* and *Clergie* together, have abused the poor People. But it would take up a Volumn to treat of this by it self, and this Argument is so experimentally understood at this day, that I need not enlarge upon it.

What cursed Laws are now in force, to persecute the faithful Ministers of Christ, for preaching to the People that they might be saved? to murder the Lord's People, by stifling them in Prisons and Dungeons? where hundreds have within these three years perished, for no other cause but *praying*, *preaching*, and *hearing the Word of God*; and all this, and much more, because wicked men are put in authority. For had the People obeyed the Law of God, and chosen such to rule as were just and fearing God, this would not have been.

5. A fifth Argument is this:

If the chusing men destitute of the Spirit of Government, be the way to make void the Law of God; Then none such should be chosen. But the former is true; therefore the latter.

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As wicked Magistrates will enact wicked Laws of their own, so will they be sure to reject and make void the Law of God. Why else do we see so many men pardoned for Murder, and walk at liberty up and down the streets in the face of the Sun, who by the Law of God should die? and the faithful Servants of God, and Friends of their Country, laid up in filthy Dungeons? How easie a thing is it for a Murderer (if he hath money) to get a Pardon? Some call it *a Lease of Life*, because it is too gross a thing to say *a Pardon for Murder* in plain terms.

O how frequently have I seen that saying of the Philosopher exemplified in this Nation! *The great Thieves lead the lesser thieves to hanging.* Publick Thieves who cheat the whole Nation of their Liberties, Estates, Birth-rights, and Gospel-priviledges, under the titles of *Judges* and *Justices*, condemn and sentence to death small thieves, for such faults as are not the hundredth part so heinous as their own? And yet the poor people believe the great Thieves are God's Ordinance, and worthy of all honour, but the lesser thieves justly put to death. Whereas indeed, if Justice had its course, there were more reason why the little thieves should condemn and execute the great Thieves.

For it is the *Tyranny* and *Oppression* of the Magistrates, which is the principal cause why there are so many Thieves in the Land. They lay intolerable Taxations on the People, and by their Tyranny destroy Trade, so that thousands are constrained to lay down their Callings for want of work; they make such intricate, tedious, and chargeable Laws, that are more like Instruments to pick the Peoples Pockets, than Rules of Righteousness; invented by the subtil Lawyers for Gins to catch the People in, where they keep men so long as their money lasts, and then let them go; so that (for the most part) it fares with those, that seek to the Lawyers and Witches for remedy, alike, they never thrive after. By these and many other Artifices or Mysteries of State, the Magistrates rob, spoil and impoverish the People, and reduce them to such necessity, that while the Governours spend their money in pride, luxury and all manner of voluptuousness, they are forced to beg or steal; and many (being ashamed to beg) fall to stealing for the necessity of their souls, but stealing without authority, are brought before the company of Rulers (who have a Charter to steal by Authority, and condemn all others who steal without license from them) and sentenced to death by those, who much more deserve it than themselves.

But alas, it were endless to recite the particular cases, wherein these wicked Rulers violate the Law of God; for whereas the Law hath appointed punishment for evil-doers, and praise for them that do well, what do these but the very contrary? turning the Sword against such as

fear God, and obey his Law. So that we have just cause to plead with the Lord, as *David* did, *Psal.* 119. 126. *It is time for thee, O Lord, to work, for they have made void thy Law.*

Brethren, you cannot but acknowledge that the Law of God should be put in execution, that it is great cause of lamentation, yea and holy indignation, to see the Law of God thus violated: and what wise man could expect any better from such Rulers as these? it is impossible the Law of God should be executed where wicked men are exalted.

Magistrates are entrusted with the execution of God's Law, and if they do not understand, or affect it, they will never execute it.

Artaxerxes (though a Heathen) shewed more wisdom and prudence, than many eminent Professors among us have lately done; for he would have *Ezra* to make such men *acknow the Law of God* (that is, knew it affectionately, as understood and loved the Law of God) *Magistrates and Judges over all the People beyond the River*, Ezra 7. 25. He knew that it was in vain to think of having the Law of God executed by ungodly Rulers.

If we had the best Laws that ever any Nation under Heaven had, and wicked Magistrates to execute them, we should have little advantage by them: they will find one way or other to wrest and pervert the Law of God, in despite of the People. I thought to have urged other Arguments for the confirmation of this great and weighty Truth, *That onely such men as are endowed with the Spirit of Government, should be entrusted with it*; and to have shewn you how the setting up of men void of those qualifications, which the Light of Reason and Law of God requires in Magistrates, is the way to extirpate Virtue out of the Land, and to introduce all manner of Vice, and to bring down the Judgments of God upon us; but in regard we find it by sad experience, that this wicked Generation are no other than a mighty flood of Superstition and Prophaness, a sweeping rain of Oppression, an Army of Locusts eating up every green thing, I shall forbear to enlarge any more upon this Particular, but close this Chapter with a word of Exhortation, and so proceed to the next.

You see what Power the Lord hath entrusted the People withal, that the Right of making their Governours belongs to them, yea, that it is not onely their Priviledge, but Duty, by the Law of God, to set Magistrates over them, both Supream and Subordinate; you see also what Qualifications the Law of God requires the People to look after in such as they entrust with Government; they must be Wise, Prudent, Faithful Persons, that have given Proof of their Integrity; Men of Truth, that understand the Law of God, Fearing God, and Hating Covetousness.

O that I might prevail with every one that reads this, to resolve, that if ever they have an opportunity to give their Suffrage for the Election of Magistrates again, they will lay aside all by-respects and carnal interests whatsoever, and give their Voice for none but such as are endued with the Spirit of Government, and with those due Qualifications which the Law of God requires. How frequent is it for men to give their Voice for those of their own Judgement or Party, though altogether destitute of that Excellent Spirit which makes men meet for the Trust they are chosen to? How common to adhere to their Kindred, Landlords, or Benefactors, and improve all their Interest for such a one who hath neither Wisdom, Faithfulness, Fear of God, nor Love to his Country? Alas! How rare a thing is it to hear of one chosen for his Virtues? The sound of a great Name, and glittering shew of phantastical Apparel, is that which qualifies a man for Government, in the judgement of the multitude. 'Tis not what Virtues, but what Titles a man hath. When a hundred men better qualified for Magistracy are passed by, a Knight, or a Lord shall be chosen for his Airy Titles sake; which is just as if a man should refuse a Shield of Brass, because it were not finely painted, and choose a Paper Escutcheon (bearing some noble Armes) for his shield to defend him; for Magistrates are the Shields of the Earth, *Psal.* 47. 9.

O *England*, be not still so froward as to put away prosperity from thy self, by choosing such for thy Governours as are void of those Qualifications which the Law of Nature and Scripture doth require. Never wilt thou enjoy a solid, lasting Peace, until thou embrace Righteousness, *Isa.* 32. 16, to 19. Never will Righteousness be executed, unless righteous men be made Governours. If ever thou art Healed, these must be thy Healers. If ever thy Breaches be made up, these must be the Repairers. O take that Counsel of *Jethro*, Exod. 18. 21. *Look out from among thy People, able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness, and make them Rulers. If thou shalt do this thing, then shall all thy People go to their place in Peace*, Vers. 23.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Treating of the Magistrates relation, wherein is proved, both by Scripture and Reason, that Magistrates from the highest to the lowest, are the Peoples Servants. Such Objections as may probably be made against that Assertion, answered, and a few Inferences deduced from it.

I Come to the Relation in which Magistrates stand to the People, and I doubt not through the Lords assistance to make it manifest, that the fond conceit which the flattering Lawyers and Prelates have infused into the ignorant multitude, of the Sacredness and Unaccountableness of the King, is altogether inconsistent with his relation. And because that 13th *Chapter* of the *Romans* is so much pleaded by the Advocates of Tyranny, I shall begin with that. The Relation of the Magistrate, is plainly held forth by the Title which the Spirit of God gives him in that *Chapter*, and that is, *A Publick Servant*, whereas it is translated *Minister*, in the plainest term it is *Servant*, *Rom.* 13. 4. 6.

The word translated *Minister*, vers. 4. is διάκονός, and is derived from διὰ and κονῖο, in *pulvere desudare*. It signifies (saith *Pareus*) *a painful and laborious service, like those that by hard travel raise the dust with their feet*. And as it signifies a laborious, so many times a low service in comparison of many others, *Rom.* 16. 1. *Phebe* a woman, is called *Servant* of the Church at *Cenchrea*. The Women are said to minister unto Christ, and the company in the house, *Mat.* 8. 15. *Mat.* 27. 55. So *John* 12. 2. *Martha* served, that is, she waited at Table; in all these places, the same Word is used, and signifies a mean service, and indeed the service which this word doth properly signifie, is a *Service in the Dust*.

So that that word imports a painful and humble Service. The other word, *ver.* 6. translated *Ministers*, should have been translated, *Publick Servants*; λειτουργοί; it is derived from λεῖτος *publicus*, and ἔργον *opus*; *publick Workmen* or *Servants*. The Magistrate hath his name not from Idleness, but *painfulness*. The word is sometims applied to a mean service as 2 *Sam.* 13. 18. *Ammons* Servant: The *Septuagent* renders it λειτουργὸς; and *Illiricus* in his *Clavis Scripturæ*, sayes that the word doth most properly signifie a Service that is laborious. And it is applyed to *Epaphroditus*, *Phil.* 2. 15. a Messenger that carried the Churches relief to *Paul*.

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You see then what a Magistrate is by the Titles the Spirit of God gives him, *A publick and painful Servant.*

But the Question will be to whom is the Magistrate Servant; none will deny but he is the Servant of God, but few understand what he is to the People in general, and to themselves in particular, as members of the whole; know then, that he is a *Servant Of God*, and *To thee*, *Rom.* 13.4. The Relation of the Magistrate is in those words, briefly, fully, and clearly held out. Observe; the Apostle doth not say, he is a Servant of God for thy good; but to make it plain that he is a Servant to the People also, he saith he is a Servant *Of God To thee for good*: thereby most excellently representing, not only the End of Magistrates, in those words, *For good*; but also the relation they stand in, both to God and the People, in those words, he is a Servant *Of God*, *To thee*; and though this may (perhaps) seem strange to some, that the Magistrate should be a Servant to the People in general, and themselves in particular; yet this Scripture doth not go alone, but there are more than two witnesses to confirm it, although one Scripture is a sufficient proof in it self, because God, who is the author of it, cannot lye. I shall therefore mention some other Scriptures for confirmation of it, *Acts.* 13.36. It is said that *David* King of Israel, *Served his Generation.* The word ὑπηρέτησε, imports, a Service full of labour and care, it is a metaphor taken from those persons that work at the Oars, and is substantially applyed to inferior Servants of the Commonwealth; as *Mat.* 5. 25. *lest the Judge deliver thee to the Officer*; that is, the *Jailor*, τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ. So *Mark* 14. 65. the Servants strook Christ; that is, the inferior Officers that attended the Court: and without doubt, a King is as truly a Servant to the Commonwealth, as a Jailor, Bayliff, or any other publick Servant; and therefore hath the Spirit of God applyed the same expression to him as he hath to them.

And if we read *Davids* behaviour to the People, we shall find that he well understood and kept his relation of Servant to them; for when he had made an unadvised resolution to go out in person, and leave the City (which was neither safe for him nor them) they tell him plainly, that *he shall not go forth*; whereupon the King submitted to them, with this humble answer, which well became the Peoples Servant, *That which seemeth you best will I do*; as if he should have said, it seems best to me to go in person, and I had fully resolved it; but you say it is better for me to succor you out of the City; I submit my Judgement to yours, and my Will to yours, and *that which seems best to you will I do*, 2 Sam. 18. 1, to 6. So when he had a desire to bring the Ark of God back again in a publick manner, he asks the Peoples consent first,

David

David said unto all the Congregation, If it seem good unto you, let us send, &c. 1 Chron. 13. 2. And indeed common reason will tell us, that it is fitter one man should submit to the Judgement of many thousands (I mean in things lawful) rather than they to him.

Rehoboams wise Counsellors, the old men that had stood before his Father, were not ignorant of this; they knew the King was the Peoples Servant, and therefore they perswaded him, to acknowledge himself to be the Peoples Servant, and promise to *Serve them*, 1 *Kings* 12. 7. and that was the way to establish his Throne; but the young Courtiers (like our Feather-men) could not endure to hear of this; they tell him 'tis a dishonour to a King to be Servant to the People, and counsel him to stand up for a lawless Prerogative, and to daunt the People with threatnings; but alas it was in vain; the People understood their Priviledges and Liberties, yea, and duty also, too well to be fooled out of all by great words; if he will not submit to their just demands, and do what seemed good to them, as *David* did, and be a Servant to them for their good, he shall not be their Lord to their hurt, to vassalize and enslave them; they rejected him and his Government, and chose another in his stead. The advise which the old Counsellors gave him, was rational & sincere, and is recorded to their honour; they were worthy Patriots of their Country, and Assertors of the Law of God, and Liberties of the People, against unlimitted Prerogative, and arbitrary Power; they perswade the King to know his place, and be humble; if thou wilt be their Servant, and not to dissemble with the People, promise one thing, and mean another; and therefore they add, *And wilt serve them*; as if they should have said, if thou wilt promise them to be their Servant, and perform thy promise to them, and wilt indeed be their Servant; and by rejecting that advise, *Rehoboam left the Kingdom of Israel.*

This was *Saul's* plea, when he had disobeyed God in sparing *Agag*, and the chief of the Cattle; *I obeyed the voice of the People*, 1 Sam. 15. 4. as if he should have said; I am the Peoples Servant, and must obey them, I was afraid to disobey the People. I know this was no excuse for *Saul*, neither did it justifie the action, because he had an express Command from God to destroy them utterly.

And therefore, if the greatest part of the People had been unwilling to have *Agag* killed, yet he should have obeyed God rather than man; but it shews that *Saul* knew the People to be above him, and that it was his duty to obey them in any lawful command; and therefore he would have excused his disobedience to the Command of God by his obedience to the People.

In like manner *Ahab* (though a wicked man) was so observant of the People,

People, that he would not presume to give an answer to *Ben-hadad*, about a matter of publick concernment, till the People had appointed him what to say; and when the People had forbid him to consent unto *Ben-hadad*'s demands, *he obeys their voice*, and returns this answer to *Ben-hadad*, *I may not do it*, 1 Kings 20. 8,9. As if he should have said, the people have forbid me to consent unto thy demands, and I may not disobey them; I am their Servant; the Silver and Gold thou sendest for, is mine no otherwise than as a Trustee of the People, to employ it in their Service, and for their good; and I must not dispose of it without their consent. *Ahab* who had sold himself to do wickedness, had not yet arrived to that degree of unrighteousness, as to pretend an absolute Prerogative to do what he would; or that the People had no coercive power over him; for he confesses he may not do that, which the People (in the vindication of their own rights) forbid him to do. You see then, how clearly the Scripture makes good this Assertion, That Magistrates (yea the very highest of all) are publick Servants to the People. Let us enquire a little into Reason, and see what that sayes unto it.

1. Then, do not the People make, constitute, and authorize Magistrates? whence have they their Call unless from the People? from God by any immediate Call, as *Moses* and *Joshua*, or in an extraordinary manner, by a Prophet, as *Saul*, *David*, *Jehu*? This they dare not pretend to. From Nature? let them prove it if they can; as soon may they turn the Day into Night, and Ocean into dry Land, as prove any right to Government, by Nature, inherent in one family, as I have shewed before. By conquest? And so hath every Rogue in the World, that is able to get a company of theeves together, and forcibly take away my Possession, and lead me captive, a right to govern over me. There's no other right to Government, either by the Law of God or Nature, but the Peoples choice; and therefore needs must they be Servants unto those who give them their power.

2. If they were not the Peoples Servants, why do the People maintain them, and pay them their wages? Is it not from the Peoples purse the Magistrate is maintained? I need not use many words in this Argument, you know it by experience. *Why* (saith *Chrysostome*) *do we give Tribute to the King? is it not the wages of his care for our protection?* Since then, the Magistrate hath his Power and Wages from us, what should he be (in reason) but our Servant?

Object. *But is it not his due? how then can we be said to give it him?*

Sol. Answer. It is his due no otherwise, than as he is a publick Servant to us, and is by us entrusted with the care of our common safety, and so becomes due Wages for the work he doth us.

Object. *But if Magistrates be the Peoples Servants, why then are they called the Higher Powers, and every soul commanded to be subject to them,* Rom. 13.1. *and obey them?* Titus 3.1.

Sol. This is meant of our single capacity, not of our collective. Every man may be considered singly, or as one particular person; and so every particular person in his single capacity, is inferior to the King, and to be subject to, and obey him, in the execution of his Office: but a man may be considered conjunctively, or, as he is in union with the Commonwealth, and a part of that whole; and in this respect the Magistrate is inferior to us; as we are all united together, and make up one Commonwealth: for we, that is, all particulars joyning together, give the King that power, which afterwards, as private persons, we are subject unto; and are subject to him no otherwise than as the publick Servant, which we have made, and do maintain at our charges, paying him his wages for the Service he doth us; we are subject to him not as our Master, but as our own Servant. The King is *Superior singulis*, but *Inferior Universis*; Superior to us as single persons, but Inferior to us as we are a Commonwealth.

2. Whereas some would restrain this, only to the King or chief Magistrate, there is not the least ground for any such restriction; for as well the Subordinate as Supream Magistrates, are over us in their several places and degrees, and we are as much bound to obey *Judges, Mayors, Bailiffs*, in the execution of that trust which the People have reposed in them, as the King; and yet we do not think a Mayor or Bayliff to be above the Community that chose him; and the word translated *higher, Rom.* 13.1. (where the Apostle speaks of higher Powers) is attributed to all other Magistrates as well as the King, ὑπερεχούσαις ἐξουσίαις, 1 *Tim.* 2. *all that are in Authority*, it is rendered there.

3. Ministers are said to be over the People, 1 *Thes.* 5. 12. and the People are commanded to obey them, and submit to them *in the Lord*, and yet they must not be Lords over Gods Heritage, 1 *Pet.* 5.3. but are Servants to the People, 2 *Cor.* 4.5. And it is the very same concerning Magistrates, for the Relation of Magistrates and Ministers in the general, is one and the same, they are both Servants to the People, though in a different kind of Service.

Object. *But are not Magistrates called Gods? How then can they be the Peoples Servants?*

Sol. That is a Metaphorical Expression, spoken not by way of Property, but Resemblance; we know Magistrates are not properly gods, it were blasphemy to say so; the names or attributes of God cannot without blasphemy be given to them; it were blasphemy to call a King *Jehovah*,

Jehovah, or *Lord God*, or the like; or to give him any of God's Properties, Omnipotent, All-wise, All-sufficient, Eternal, or the like: they are called Gods, because true Magistrates do in some higher Measure, than private persons, resemble the Wisdom, Power, and Justice of God, which is the utmost can be proved from that Title; this doth no way contradict their proper Title of Servants to the People.

For when a Magistrate is a terror to evil works, and a praise to good, *Rom.* 13. 3. he is a Servant to the People *for good*, *ver.* 4. and in this service of his, he represents the justice of God, *who rewards every man according to his works*. We must beware of straining Metaphors; the proper title of the Magistrate, which describes his relation, is a Servant *Of* God *To* the People. The Metaphorical Title of God describes his Virtues and Duties; the Wisdom, Faithfulness and Justice which a true Magistrate is indued with, and rules in; and the proper and metaphorical Titles are not repugnant to each other: but this observe by the way, that he that is destitute of those Virtues, or neglecteth those Duties, wherein a true Magistrate resembleth God, may be more justly called a Devil than a God, because he resembleth the Devil more than God. If it be said that an unrighteous Magistrate, by reason of his great power and external glory, resembleth God. I answer, *It is false*; for God hath no unrighteous or oppressive power; neither hath given any such to Magistrates; and therefore there is no resemblance between the power of a *Tyrant* or *Oppressor*, and the Power of the *Most Just* and *Righteous Jehovah*. The same say of his external Glory; for the Glory of God is in his Wisdom, Justice, Faithfulness, and other attributes, and the Works of Goodness, Mercy and Righteousness which he doth; which the outward powers and splendor of an unrighteous Magistrate doth no way resemble; but it doth most aptly resemble the power and glory of the Devil, *whose Servant he is, and whose works he doth*.

Object. *But if the King be the Peoples Servant, why is it that we read so often in Scripture, that the People were used to salute the King with this Title, My Lord the King? and say they were his Servants?*

Sol. Those are expressions of courtesie and respect, commonly used not only to the King, but private persons; yea, sometimes our inferiors. *Rebecka* calls *Abrahams* Servant, *My Lord*, Gen. 24. 18. *Jacob* calls his Brother *Esau*, *My Lord*, eight times in two Chapters. *Gen.* 32. and 33. *Obadiah* calls *Elijah* My Lord, 1 *Kings* 18. 7, 13. The very same Title that is usually given to the King, and the same word in the *Hebrew* in all these places viz. So the *Levite* (in a way of courtesie) says to the old man that came from his work out of the field, *Thy Servant*, Judg. 19. 19. It is used so, *Gen.* 42. 10. 2 *Kings* 1. 13. and Chap.

2.6. And so it is to be understood when we read the People call the King *My Lord*, and say they are his Servants, it is an expression of courtesie, not that they are in a strict and proper sence, and in point of duty, his Servants, or the King their Lord, for it is nothing so. Thus we read, 1 *Kings* 12.4. the People come and tender their Service to *Rehoboam*, upon condition that he would ease them of their burdens; they came with respectful, courteous language unto him, and thought to win him thereby; but when he refused to perform his duty to them, they make him know, that in a strict and proper sence, they were his Masters, and could punish him for his faults, and did deprive him of his Crown *ver.* 16.

And so the Parliaments of *England*, and often the People without the Parliament, have (in their Addresses to the King) given him the Title of *Lord*, in a way of honour and respect; but when he hath refused to perform his duty to them, and endeavoured by his unlawful Prerogative, to abridge them of their Liberties, they have made him understand his Relation, and by force of Arms asserted their own Priviledges, and sometimes compelled the King to perform his duty, other times deposed him from the Government; as the People of *Israel* did *Rehoboam* upon the same account; and so have most, if not all, the Nations in the World done the same.

How common a thing is it in our ordinary Salutations, to say we are such a ones Servant, in a general and respective sence, and in point of courtesie, whose Servant we are not in a strict sence, and point of duty?

Object. *But why may not Princes be Lords over the People, as well as Masters Lords over their Servants, for the word translated Master*, Ephes. 6. 5. Col. 3. 22. *signifies Lord?*

Sol. 1. Because the Servant is inferiour to his Master, and by his place obliged to serve his Master; but here it is the contrary, for the Magistrate is inferiour to the Commonwealth, because he is made by, and for them, and his Office (as I have shewed before) is to be a *Servant to the People*. Now a man cannot be in one and the same respect Lord and Servant.

2. The Master pays the Servant his wages, so doth not the Magistrate the People, but the People pay him his wages. So that this Objection is justly retorted upon those that urge it, and in stead of proving the Magistrate to be the Lord, and the People to be Servants, proves the contrary; that the Magistrate is the Servant, and the People Masters. Which not only the Philosophers and wisest sort of the Heathens understood; but many of the greatest Emperors in the World have confessed. *Augustus*

Auguſtus Cæſar, one that had the Empire of the world (of whom we read *Luke* 2. 1.) would not ſuffer the People *to call him Lord*.

Tiberius Cæſar, who ſucceeded him in the Empire, (of whom we read *Luk.* 3. 1) forbid any man to call him *Lord*, and took it as a reproach caſt upon him, for any one to call him ſo. And in an Oration he made to the People he uſeth theſe words, *I have often, & do ſtill affirm, that a good and virtuous Prince, whom you have entruſted with ſo great and large authority, ought to ſerve the Senate, and all the Citizens often, and many times particular Perſons, neither do I repent of what I have ſaid. And I have acknowledged you for my very good and favourable Lords, and do ſtill acknowledge the ſame.*

Thus you ſee the greateſt Emperors of the world confeſſing themſelves to be the Peoples Servants, and the People their Lords or Maſters.

The ſame in effect did *Trajan* the Emperor confeſs, that he was inferiour to the People; for when the *Prator* delivered him the Sword at his Inauguration, he returned it to him again with theſe words: *Take this Sword, uſe it for me, if I do that which is good; but if otherwiſe, againſt me; and that ſo much the more, becauſe it is the more wicked for one that Rules over all, to tranſgreſs the Law himſelf.*

He was far from pretending to impunity, that his perſon was Sacred, and muſt not be touched whatſoever wickedneſs he committed; but like a wiſe man and good Governour, he reſolved to do nothing worthy of puniſhment, or if he did, he ſubmitted himſelf to the ſtroak of the Sword, as much as any other perſon was to do; and it is obſervable that it was not for want of power he ſpake this, for the Empire was then at the ἀκμὴ, at the higheſt, or very near it.

Theſeus in like manner, a moſt wiſe and valiant King of the *Athenians*, acknowledged the Peoples power to be above his, and affirms (yea glories in it) *That in Athens the People Reigned.*

I could quickly tire both my ſelf and you with Teſtimonies of this nature from Philoſophers, Orators, and others, but I know the judgement of any man is no proof, and I have given ſufficient proof from Scripture and Reaſon already, and therefore I ſhall not fill up my Papers with tranſcribing other mens judgements, but mention one or two places worthy our conſideration out of the new Teſtament, which are the Teſtimony of Chriſt himſelf, and *Paul* his Apoſtle, and with a few Inferences from the whole cloſe up this Chapter.

The firſt is that of our Saviour, *Mat.* 20. 25. to 28. *The Princes of the Gentiles exerciſe Dominion over them, and they that are great exerciſe Authority over them; but it ſhall not be ſo among you: but whoſoever will be great among you let him be your Seavant; And whoſoever will be chief among*

you,

you, let him be your Servant. This Text holds out these things following.

First, That there were two great political Evils among the Gentiles.

1. Their Princes lorded it, or exercised Dominion over them, they would not keep within the bounds of their relation, which God and Nature had set out to Governours, to be Servants to the People; but they would be Lords over them, whose Servants they were in right. And therefore it is that Christ useth the word κατακυριευουσιν, *they exercise Lordship against them*; as much as to say, their Lordship is against the *Liberties* and *Priviledges* of the People, against the *Good* and *Benefit* of them whom they Govern; Their Prerogatives abrogate the Peoples Rights.

2. The great men exercise Authority over them, not the wise men or the good men, who were best qualified for Government, but those who had great titles and riches were Rulers over them which was contrary to the Light of Nature, which the *Gentiles* were endued withal, as I have shewed at large under the qualifications of Magistrates. Governours were not chosen for their Virtues or Goodness, but for their Greatness.

Secondly, Both these evils are forbid among Christians. *It shall not be so among you.* You that will be my followers shall not imitate the wicked manners of the *Gentiles*. Your Princes shall not be Lords over you, they shall not exercise *Lordship* against the Liberties and Priviledges of their Brethren. *But whosoever will be chief among you*, (which must be the chief Magistrate, unless you will allow any other above him) *let him be your servant.* They that are great shall not exercise authority among you, but they that are Wise, Good, and Faithful men, such as fear God and hate Covetousness; you shall not choose men to Govern for their Greatness sake, but for their Goodness.

Object. *But is not this place to be understood onely of Ministers, that they are not to be Lords over the People?*

Sol. There is no reason for such a restriction, for the same evil that was practised by the *Gentiles* is forbid among Christians. *It shall not be SO among you.* How was it among the *Gentiles?* He doth not say their Priests, but their Princes lorded it over them, *But it shall not be SO among you*, your Princes shall not do so. Christ knew well enough that his Church would encrease, and many millions own his Gospel, and therefore carefully laies down Rules beforehand, how the Princes of Christians should behave themselves.

Again; our Saviour puts it in the most comprehensive terms imaginable, *Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant*; be he who he will that is chief, he is but your servant at highest. And Christ allows of a chief Magistrate, but the Gospel knows no chief Minister. For though *Paul* saith, 2 *Cor.* 11. 5. he was not behind the *very chief of*

the

the Apostles; he means not that any Apostle was by his Office above others, but chief in *labours* and *gifts*; and so some might exceed others. And in regard this Precept is so consonant to the Light of Reason, Law of God, and that of *Rom.* 13.4. where the Magistrate is called, *A Servant to the People*, I wonder any should go to restrain it only to Ministers, it being given in such extensive universal terms.

Another place like to this, is 1 *Cor.* 8. 5, 6. *There are many that are called gods, and lords: but to us there is but one God, the Father; and one Lord Jesus Christ.* As if he should have said, there are indeed among the Heathens many gods, they live in Idolatry; but we Christians own but *One God.* Many of the Gentiles are so vain-glorious, that they will have earthly Lords, but we Christians own none for our Lord, but *Jesus Christ*; that is, no titular Lords, such as exercise lordship over the People.

1. Then, *A Word to chief Magistrates, Kings, Princes, &c.* Learn to know your selves, your places and relations. Alas how few of you that wear Crowns and sway Scepters understand your relation? and he is like to rule well that knows not his place. Beware of those flattering and covetous Priests and Lawyers, who will say any thing for advantage, and flatter you out of your own reason. The Word of God, Law of Nature, and your own Reason (if you have not lost it) will tell you that you are Publick Servants to the People, who gave you your Power, and pay you your Wages. For shame make no more pretences to a Lordly Power over the People, whose Servants ye are: talk no more of your Lordships, unless you mean to declare your selves Tyrants. Rulers, chief Magistrates, we own, but not to be our Lords, but Servants, according to the Word of God.

You know no other name to call the People by but *Subjects*; the Law of God will teach you a better name, to call them *Brethren*, and not to lift up your hearts in a lordly manner above your Brethren. This was the appellation *David* used to give the People, 2 *Sam.* 19. 12. And the Lord commands proud *Rehoboam* to own the People for his Brethren, 1 *King.* 12.24.

You call your selves *Christian Kings*, and *Defenders of the Faith*, but like the Princes of the Gentiles, you exercise Lordship over the People, and against their Liberties. Yea, herein you are worse than Gentile Princes; for they lorded it over Men, but you lord it over Saints, the true Nobles of the King of Heaven, *Acts* 17. 11. *Isa.* 43. 4. You say you are the Chief, know then you are the *Peoples Servants*, Matth. 20. 27. How dare you force the free-born People of this Land to swear that you are their Lords, when the Word of God sayes expressly you are their Servants?

Servants? How much better would it become you to be humble and respective to the People, and acknowledge them for your good and favourable Lords, as that great Emperour did? than to be so haughty as you are? as if the People were your slaves, when in the mean while you live upon the Wages they give you, and are Stipendiaries unto them. A Servant honoureth his Master, you are the Peoples Servants, and ought to honour them. You are not ignorant, I suppose, of that custom of the *Roman* Emperours to reverence and adore the People.

How little do you mind your duty to the People? what is the service you do them for the wages you receive, unless it be to make them slaves to your lusts? Let humble *David* be your pattern, who said unto the People, *That which seems best unto you will I do.*

2. *A Word to Subordinate Magistrates and Officers.*

Are Kings themselves the Peoples Servants, and must you be Lords? What insolent and absurd behaviour have I seen at the Courts of Publick Judicature, from Judges, Justices, yea inferiour Clerks themselves? what malepert and saucy language will they give to men, whose cloaks they are scarce worthy to carry? *Sirrah*, *Knave*, and the like, to those whose servants they are, and whom they ought to honour. But alas, what is this to deeds? what are you, for the greatest part, but very Caterpillars and devourers of the Land? Is this your service to the People, to eat them up as one would eat bread, and make a prey of your Masters? And you Constables and other Officers, who hale men up and down to Prisons for conscience sake, because they do what God commands them; that beat, wound, yea kill men, who are peaceably assembled, to seek the Lord, and build up one anothers souls: Is this your faithful service to God and the People? you were appointed by the Lord to serve the People for their good, is this the good you do them?

But you will say, *We are commanded by the King, and we must do it?*

I answer, *Whether better to obey God or man, judge ye?* The King commands you; and what, is his Command to stand against God's? God hath said, *That which is altogether Just shalt thou do*, Deut. 16. 20. And will you do that which is unjust, because the King commands you? it shews you fear him more than God. The King is the People Servants as well as you, and will you abuse your Brethren because their Servant bids you? *Pharaoh* commanded the Midwives to kill the male Children, *Exod.* 1. 16. but the Midwives feared God, and did not as the King of *Egypt* commanded them, *ver.* 17. If you had the fear of God, that would teach you not to hale men to Prison, where they are kept till they are stifled to death, because a wicked King commands you. *Saul* bid his Foot-men kill the Priests, but the Foot-men would not put forth their

their hand to fall upon them, 1 *Sam.* 22. 17. You that are Conſtables and other Officers, are you not aſhamed to be more baſe and ſlaviſh than *Saul's* Foot-men? Well, know aſſuredly, that the righteous Judge will call you to an account for the injury you have done in this kind, and perhaps the People too, before you are either willing or aware.

3. *A Word to the People.*

Are Magiſtrates your ſervants? then learn to be wiſe, and know your Priviledges for time to come, and be not frighted out of your Right and Reaſon at once, by thoſe Traitors and Rebels, who would make you believe that it is Treaſon and Rebellion, to call them to account for the *Treaſon* and *Rebellion* they are guilty of. The People of *Iſrael* were wiſer than to be frighted out of their Birth-rights, by *Rehoboams* great words. And Oh that my Countrymen would underſtand their Liberty and Duty in this caſe, and not idolize thoſe who are indeed their Servants. Be not ſo fooliſh as to court your Servants while they make you ſlaves, and put a yoke of iron on your neck. For Magiſtrates who are made and maintained by us, to protect us; to oppreſs, enſlave and murder us, is the higheſt Treaſon and Rebellion, againſt God and us, as all wiſe men know. For our Servants who are ſworn to defend us, and ſeek our good, thus wickedly to tyrannize over us, is moſt ſuperlative Treaſon, and tranſcendent Rebellion.

Oh what a ſlaviſh ſpirit is there upon *England* at this day! that we ſhould ſuffer our enemies to domineer over us, and give them ſuch exceſſive wages for keeping us in ſlavery. No wonder if this Land become a *Chaos*, when things are turned up-ſide down, Servants become our Maſters.

This is the cauſe why Tyranny hath ſo much prevailed both in Church and State, the People are not careful to preſerve that Power God and Nature hath given them, but ſuffer Magiſtrates and Miniſters (which by the Word of God are their Servants) to encroach upon their Rights, till at laſt they come to be their Lords.

This midwiv'd *Lord Biſhops* into the world. The Churches grew negligent, and ſuffered the Miniſters to take their Power from them, and when once they had let it go, they could not recover it again. And is it not the very ſame in Politick affairs? when People are ſo void of reaſon as to give their own Power into the Magiſtrate's hands, or let him encroach upon their Liberties, can they expect any other but that he will be their Lord, and they ſhall be his Vaſſals? But that I may cloſe up this Particular, underſtand; *Parliaments are the Peoples ſervants*, we ſend them up as our Truſtees, to make Laws for our good; if they make Laws for our hurt, to oppreſs and injure us, they are faithleſs

and treacherous servants, and ought to be dealt with accordingly. The King, Judges, Justices, Mayors, Constables, and all other Magistrates or Officers, are our servants, to protect us and secure us from Violence and Oppression; if they break their Trust and oppress us, the Law of God and Nature allows us, to call our servants to account, punish them according to their deserts, and turn them out of our service.

CHAP. VI.

Treating of some general Duties which Magistrates are obliged to; 1. To Answer the End of Government; 2. Keep, and fill up their Relation; 3. Observe the Law of God themselves; 4. Exercise Justice; 5. and protect the Land.

The Duty of Magistrates falls next under consideration, and because this Theam is so large, that I cannot have room in this Discourse for all the particular Duties of Magistrates, either Supream or Subordinate, I shall only mention some general Duties, under which many particular are comprehended.

1. Then, Magistrates ought to make it their great design, both in their undertaking and exercising their Authority, to answer the ends of Goverment, and to prosecute those ends, in the whole *series* of their transactions. They should consider the greatness of the work they take in hand, the strictness of the account they must one day give, and examine well their own hearts, whether they mean in *undertaking*, what God did in *instituting* Goverment? whether Gods ends be their ends? whether they take the charge upon them for the glory of God, and good of the People; or for base ends of worldly honour and greatness?

Alas! how few Magistrates are there, whose hearts will not condemn them in this, if they should but dare to put the question to them?

Where is the Governor to be found who doth not make his private interest his cheifest end? that doth not take more care to honour himself and his posterity, than God? that doth not seek the Peoples *goods* more then their *good*? as if the People had been made for them, not they for the People. This is the mark that Magistrates should level at, in all their consultations; *How may I advance the Honour of God, and promote the Peoples good?* like *Titus Vespasian*, of whom it is recorded, that he counted that day lost, in which he had done no good.

2. Magi-

2. Magistrates must eye their relation, and behave themselves in all respects conformable thereto.

1. They must fill up their Relation. You are Servants of God, he hath entrusted you with Talents, look you imploy them to your Masters use. You are Servants to the People, they have given you power to employ it in their Service, they also pay you your wages? Then serve the People, not your selves. O how many Rulers are there that instead of serving *God* and *the People* with their Power, serve *the Devil* and *their Lusts*? instead of serving *the People*, serve *themselves of the People*. You are called διάκονοι, your service should be like those that travel in the dust, that labour and take pains. You are called λειτουργοὶ, *Publique Servants* or *Workmen*; you are not to consume your time and treasures, in idleness, but painfulness. *You give the Lion, the Unicorn, and Beasts of prey for your Arms*, as if your Office did allow you to prey upon the People as you do; it were far more suitable to your relation to give the *Labouring Ox*, thereby to signifie that you know your place, and mean to discharge the trust reposed in you, by taking pains for the People. You are called Repairers of Breaches, which will not be done without diligence. Magistrates are by their Office Nursing Fathers, then learn of *Moses*, to carry the People in your bosome, as a nursing father doth the sucking child, *Numb.* 11. 12. and shew your readiness to serve all particular persons, as often as you can; that they may have occasion to say, you are the servants of God to them for good, *Rom.* 13.4. Remember that which is reported of *Titus Vespasian*, who is said never to have sent away any person sad from his presence.

2. Be sure you keep within the circumference of your relation, you are Publique Servants, take heed you do not forget your selves and your relation, and please your selves with dreams of Lordly Power over the People, whose servants you are. Be provident of the Peoples Treasures, be humble in the Peoples presence, be curteous and affable in your carriage, amiable in your countenance; labour to win the Peoples love, by kindness and respect. Like *Trajan* the Emperour, who behaved himself so to the People, as he would have an Emperour to have done to him, if he had been a private person. Remember the miserable ends of Lascivious *Sardanapalus*, Luxurious *Vitellius*, Prodigal *Heliogabalus*, Bloody *Nero*, and others, who kept not within the bounds of their relation. If you transgress the limits of your station, and spend your time in wantonness, luxury, prodigality and tyranny; the People one time or other will remember their relation, though you forget yours. It hath been observed by Historians of the Inhabitants of this Isle, that though they endure long, they will not endure alwayes. They

will bear much before they call their ſervants to account, but at laſt they uſe to make all even. Remember that proverb of a wiſe King, *Oppreſſion makes a wiſe man mad.*

The Wrath of a King is like the roaring of a Lion, we grant it.

But *the Wrath of the People is like the Raging of the Sea*, which will overwhelm a thouſand Lions in an inſtant.

You ſeem at preſent to imitate *Canutus*, once King of this Iſland, who ſitting in his Royal Chair by the Sea ſide, challenged a Lordly Power over the Ocean; and forbid the waves to touch his Robes, threatning them, if they did preſume to diſobey his commands: but the ſturdy waves not valuing his Lordly threats, approached his perſon, wet him to the thighs and skirts, forced him to remove his Chair, and retreat, and made him know the Ocean was above him. Beware of dallying too long with the *Britiſh Seas*, and lording it over the multitude of Waters; if once a Spring-tide ariſe, and *Tame* and *Humber* overflow, they will acknowledge little homage to your Lordſhips, and perhaps ſhew leſs. They will make you to remove your Chairs, as *Canutus* did, and perhaps renounce your Titles alſo. They will wet your thighs, and cool your luſts, and waſh your filthy bloody skirts; *thoſe Rivers know no Lords.*

3. A third duty of Magiſtrates, is, *To obſerve the Law of God themſelves, that ſo they may by their example induce the People to the ſame.*

Hearken not to thoſe wicked Earwigs; thoſe open Enemies to God, the world, and moſt of all to your ſelves, who tell you that you are above the Law. They ſerve their own bellies, and know no other God. They are the greateſt Plague and Judgment of the Land: ſuch *Lepers* ſhould not be endured in the *Engliſh Camp*. Such filthy Lawyers and Prelates are the *Foxes* and *Wolves* who annoy this Commonwealth; it never will be well with us till they are taken. Varlets that have reſpect of perſons, and will tranſgreſs for a piece of bread, *Prov.* 28. 21. What ſeared conſciences, and whoriſh foreheads, have thoſe men, that dare to ſay *that the King is above the Law?* when as the Lord hath given a ſtrict and particular charge to the King, to have a copy of it by him, and reade therein all the dayes of his life, that he may learn to fear God and keep all his Statutes, *Deut.* 17. 18, 19. If you think you have ſuch immunity above other men, put your finger in the flames, and try what priviledge you ſhall have more than others. O know that if you break the Law of God, the ſame place is provided for you, that is for others, Iſa. 30. 33. *Tophet is prepared of old, yea for the King it is prepared.* Your Flatterers tell you, you may do what you pleaſe, *for you are gods*; *but* if you break the Law of God, *you ſhall dy like men, and fall like one of the Princes,*

Princes, Pſal. 82. 6,7. He ſhall cut off the ſpirit of Princes; He is terrible to the Kings of the Earth, Pſal. 76. 12.

4. Magiſtrates are to execute Judgment and Juſtice in the Land, 1 *Kings* 10.9. *Becauſe the Lord loved Iſrael for ever, therefore made he thee King, to do Judgment and Juſtice.* Not to do what he liſt, as the Court-Paraſits pretend, *that the King can do no evil.* Which they gather from that place, 1 *Sam.* 8.9 to 19. where the Lord bids *Samuel* tell the People the manner of the King, what he would do; how he would enſlave them, and oppreſs them, make them his Servants, take away their goods and poſſeſſions from them, and make them cry out by reaſon of their oppreſſion; now hence do thoſe wicked Advocates of Tyranny plead, that it is lawful for a King to do theſe things.

O filthy and degenerate wretches, Apoſtates from the Light of Nature, men given up to a *reprobate mind*, profeſſed enemies to mankind; how dare you thus to prevaricate with God and the world? to father your moſt damned Notions, hatched in the loweſt Hell, upon God himſelf? as if the Judge of the whole Earth ſhould do as unrighteouſly as your ſelves. As if the Lord ſhould make a Law for Kings to tyrannize and oppreſs the People without controul; when as the Lord hath particularly enjoyned the King *to keep all the words of his Law, and all his Statutes, to do them*, Deut. 17. 19. the Lord foreſeeing that folly which the People would commit in asking a King, many hundred years before it came to paſs, made a Law, that if at any time the People ſhould ſay, *I will ſet a King over me, like the Nations round about*, *Deut.* 17. 14. *the King ſhould keep all his Statutes as well as the meaneſt perſon.* And if you ask, why then doth he tell the People (when they asked a King) that this would be the manner of him? I anſwer, Not (ye Blaſphemers) as if the Lord allowed of ſuch Tyranny, but to deter the People from that folly which at preſent did poſſeſs them, in asking a King. For the Lord was highly diſpleaſed with them for it, as you may reade at large in the ſtory, He did give them their own deſire of a King, but in wrath, *Hoſ.* 13. 11. The King was made to do Judgment and Juſtice: if Tyranny and Oppreſſion be Judgment and Juſtice, it is lawful for the King to do that, otherwiſe not.

So likewiſe *Judges and Officers are appointed to judge the People with juſt Judgment*, Deut. 16. 18. and the Lord complains of the Magiſtrates, Pſal. 82. *How long will ye judge unjuſtly, and accept the perſons of the wicked? Defend the poor and fatherleſs, do Juſtice to the afflicted and needy. Deliver the poor and needy, rid them out of the hand of the wicked.* Here, here is the

Duty

Duty of Magistrates; but alas what should one say unto them? they know not, neither will they understand, they walk on in darkness, all the foundations of the Earth are out of course. *Arise, O God, and judge the Earth, for thou shalt inherit all Nations.*

Thus the Apostle instructs us what is the Duty of the Magistrate, *Rom.* 13. 3, and 4. *To give praise to them that do well, and to execute wrath upon them that do evil:* And the same doth the Apostle *Peter* affirm, 1 *Pet.* 2. 14. But how little are the Scriptures regarded now a-dayes? O what cause have we to take up that *Lamentation*, Isa. 59. 1, to 16? and especially that, *vers.* 14. and 15. *Judgement is turned away backward, and Justice standeth a-far off; for Truth is fallen in the street, and Equity cannot enter; yea Truth faileth, and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey.*

5. A fifth general Duty of Magistrates, is to Protect and Defend the People. Therefore they are called *Shepherds*, *Numb.* 27. 17. *When the Lord told Moses, that he should go up to Mount Abarim, and see the Land, and be gathered to his People, he entreats the Lord to appoint another to succeed him, that the People might not be as Sheep without a Shepherd.* So *David* was chosen by God, *to feed his People Israel*, 2 Sam. 5. 2. That is, to be their *Shepherd* and *Leader*, to watch over them for their safety; which he did according to the integrity of his heart, *Psal.* 78. 72. The Title of *Shepherd* is not appropriated to Ministers, but belongs to Magistrates also; Now a good *Shepherd* layes down his Life to Protect and Defend the Sheep, *John* 10. 11. Magistrates are called *Shields*, *Psal* 47. 9. and *Hos.* 4. 18. *Her Rulers*, the word in the *Hebrew* is, her *Shields*; now the use of a *Shield* is to Defend.

Thus *Tola* defended *Israel*, *Judg.* 10. 9. and *Gideon* hazarded his life for the defence of his Country, *Judg.* 9. 17. not to make himself Lord over them, (for that he refused afterwards) He did not fight for Honour or Greatness, but for the Good of his Country. Thus *Nehemiah* adventured himself in person for the Peoples good, and would not flee to save his life, and leave the work unfinished, *Nehem.* 6. 11. though there were many and potent enemies round about. He was a Shepherd that loved the Flock, a true Shield to defend them from *Tobiah*, *Sanballat*, and the rest of God's and their enemies: a Repairer of the Breaches both in the People and the Wall.

But alas, poor *England!* thy Shepherds are become Robbers, thy *Princes within thee are roaring Lions*, thy Judges are *evening Wolves*; instead of defending the Flock, they devour it. Thy Shields are become Swords, which pierce thine own bowels. Thy Rulers instead of repairing thy Breaches, throw down thy Walls, and widen the Breaches among thy Inhabitants more and more.

But

But hear I pray you, O ye Heads of *England*, and Princes of these Nations; *Is it not for you to know Judgement? who hate the good and love the evil, who pluck their skin from off them, and their flesh from off their bones; who break the bones of the Lords People, and chop them in pieces for the pot, and boil them in the cauldron. The day is coming when you shall cry unto the Lord, but he will not hear you, he will even hide his face from you, as you have behaved your selves ill in your doings*, Mich. 3. 1, to 5. You are the Shepherds of this People, therefore thus saith the Lord, *Wo be to the Shepherds* of England, *that do feed themselves: should you not feed the Flock? Ye eat the fat, ye cloath you with the wool; ye kill them that are fed, but ye feed not the Flock; with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them. Behold I am against the Shepherds, and I will require my flock at their hand, and cause them to cease from feeding the flock, neither shall they feed themselves any more; for I will deliver my flock from their mouth, that they may not be meat for them*, Ezek. 34. 1, to 11.

I shall insist no longer on the Magistrates Duty at present, but come to his Due, which is contained in those four Particulars mentioned in the Description of Magistracy.

Power,
Tribute,
Honour,
And *Obedience*; with two Restrictions applicable to them all.

First, The Proportion; what is due.
Secondly, The Reason; Therefore.

I shall begin in the next Chapter with the Power of the Magistrate.

CHAP. VII.

Treating of the Power which the Magistrate is to be entrusted withall; shewing that he is to have so much Power as is adequate to the end of Government, relation of a publick Servant, and duties of his place; and that he hath no right to any Power contrary to that.

I Am now come to the Magistrates due, or to treat of what is due to him from the People, which is principally comprehended in four particulars.

I shall begin with the first, *Power*.

By the word *Power*, I mean not *Authority*, but strength sufficient for the

the performance of that truſt, God and the People have repoſed in him; which by the *Greeks* is called *δυναμις* and by the *Latines*, *Vis*, and differs from *ἐξουσια Authority*, which is mentioned, *Rom.* 13. 1. Becauſe *Power* is a means of carrying on, or executing Authority. And therefore that word tranſlated *Power*, had been better rendred *Authority*. For the *Power* or *Strength* which the Magiſtrate hath put into his hand is mentioned afterward in the 4th. *Verſe*, under the name of a *Sword*. And the Magiſtrate is ſaid to bear the *Sword*, becauſe it is delivered into his hand for the performance of his duty. But to be more plain in this particular, I ſhall ſhew you what *Power* is the Magiſtrates due, and what not.

1. Then Poſitively, The Magiſtrate is to have ſo much *Power* or *Strength*, as may conduce to the Glory of God, and Good of the People; as is adequate to the End of Government. For otherwiſe the Office were a vain thing, if it were not inveſted with Power ſufficient to anſwer the End of its Inſtitution.

2. So much *Power*, as is adequate to the relation he is in. That is, a publick and painful *Servant*, *Of* God, and *To* the People. For to make a Servant, and give him too little Power for the relation you ſet him in, were to ſet up a man of ſtraw, or the Picture of a Magiſtrate.

3. So much *Power*, as may enable him to perform the duties of his place; to execute Juſtice, to Puniſh thoſe that do Evil, and Reward thoſe that do Well, *Rom.* 13. 4. And to defend the Nation in general, and every one in particular under his charge.

Thus all, both Superiour and Subordinate Magiſtrates, muſt have *Power* ſufficient to perform the Duties of their ſeveral ſtations, and the Truſt which the People repoſe in them. This I think none will deny; but the queſtion will principally be, what *Power* the Magiſtrate ought not to have?

For the greateſt inconveniences of Government ly in the exceſs of the Magiſtrates Power; I ſhall therefore ſpend moſt time about that.

1. Then *Negatively*. The Magiſtrate is not to have any Power which is for the Peoples hurt; he was made for their good, and no reaſon he ſhould have any power for their hurt; power enough to make the People ſlaves when ever he pleaſeth, to perſecute them for doing well, to take away their Eſtates, Liberties or Lives unjuſtly, this Power is not his due; becauſe it is contrary to the End for which he was made, *The Peoples good*, *Rom.* 13. 4.

It is a madneſs in any People, to ſuffer their Magiſtrates to take ſo much Power into their hands, as doth enable them when they pleaſe to hurt and oppreſs the People; it were not ſafe to truſt the beſt man alive, with ſo much Power as to be able to injure us if he would: for it is a common

common thing for Governours to play the Hypocrites; begin to govern well till they have cunningly eſtabliſhed themſelves, and got power enough into their hands to oppreſs the People, and then begin to Tyrannize. Thus did *Nero* himſelf; his firſt five years he reigned well: And *Tyberius* did the ſame; but when they had eſtabliſhed themſelves in the Throne, and were poſſeſſed of as much Power as they thought ſufficient; murdered the *Senators*, oppreſſed the *People*, and committed all manner of outrages.

2. The Magiſtrate is not to have ſo much power as is unſutable to his Relation of the Peoples Servant; to have ſo much Power as to make himſelf their Lord: If a People will be ſo unwiſe as to give the Magiſtrate Lordly Power, they may well be ſure he will uſe it to their thraldom; and do we not find it by woful experience this day? what are we better than ſlaves? when upon any pretence of the Court, they fetch Men out of their Houſes, where they are peaceably following their Callings; and though they have nothing to charge them withall, yet ſend them away to Priſons, where they keep them to the utter undoing of them and their Families; how many hundreds have been thus dealt withal, ſince theſe men have had this exorbitant Power in their hands? Is not this the very higheſt *ſlavery*? when Men dare not *pray*, or *preach*, or *meet* together to worſhip God, but they are haled to Dungeons. Oh *England!* this could not have been, if thou hadſt been ſo wiſe, as to have kept thy Power in thine own hands, and given no more to thy Servants than is ſufficient to perform thy ſervice.

3. Magiſtrates ſhould not have Power to pervert Juſtice, and deſtroy a Land; their duty is to execute Juſtice, and defend us; and are they not bereft of Reaſon, who would give them Power to deſtroy and undoe us? For a People to give the Power of the *Militia* into the hands of the King, is by interpretation a giving away of their *Birthright*, and expoſing their *Lives*, *Liberties* and *Eſtates* to his *will*: For if the King may command the *Militia* as he pleaſeth, what Tyranny is too hard for him? I deny not but the King is to bear the Sword for execution of Juſtice, and defending the People; but to have the *Militia* wholly at his *diſpoſal*, is not that Sword due to him? for that is to have power to make the People ſlaves when he pleaſeth. And do not we find the ſad effects of this at preſent, when the Walls of our Cities are thrown down in a time of Peace (after an Act of *Indemnity*) which are the ſtrength and defence of our Land, in caſe of a Forreign Invaſion?

Object. *We ſee this now, but it is too late, the Parliament have given the Power of the Militia to the King, and ſince all Authority is againſt us, what can we do?*

Answ. The Parliament are our Servants as well as the King: we chuse a King to govern us for our good, to preserve our Lives, Liberties and Estates; we chuse a Parliament, send them up to consult our Safety, to assert our Liberties and Priviledges, to make Laws for the Glory of God and our Good; these our Servants conspire against their Masters, and have wickedly robbed us of our Power, and shared it among themselves; we are no more bound to submit to their unjust and most prefidious Acts, than a Master is bound to stand still, and let his Servant give away his Goods, and undoe him.

What Authority had a Parliament to give away our Birthrights, to enslave the Corporations and Counties that sent them up to assert their Freedoms, and to expose us to the lusts of wicked Oppressors? to give away the *Militia* of the Land to the King, to be disposed of for our slavery? for who knowes not that it is put into the hands of *bloody Papists*, and *Sons of Cruelty* and *Oppression*, in most parts of the Land? Did God give them this Authority? who dares so to blaspheme? Did the People give them any such Commission? not in the least; and therefore I conclude they had no authority at all to do it. That they have no authority from the People, I make good thus.

1. There is no People can be supposed to be so destitute of reason, and such Enemies to themselves, their Little-ones, and Posterity, as to send up Trustees to enslave them, and undoe them, to give away their Birthrights and Priviledges, to expose their Lives, Liberties and Estates to Tyranny.

2. If any People should be so foolish to send up Trustees with a Commission of this nature, yet it were unlawfully done; it were against the Law of God and Nature, and the Grant it self null and void.

It were a wicked and treacherous thing, for any man to give away the Power of preserving his own, but especially his Wife, his Children, and Posterities Lives, Liberties and Estates; because both the Law of God and Nature, oblige a man to preserve all these; to give away the power of self-defence from my self, is most abominable treachery to my self.

To give it away from my Wife and Children, is most cursed and unnatural treachery to them; and if a man should give away this Power to another, yet the other hath no right to it by that grant; it is as if it had been never given. There are two infallible Maximes which make this good; *Whatever a man gives, if it were not in his power to give it, is not obliging.* But it is not in our power to give away self and family-defence; and therfore if a man should do it, yet the grant were not obliging.

Another Maxime as certain is that; *Against the Law of God or Nature nothing binds; But to give away the Power of Self and Family-defence,*

to

to a King or Parliament, or both, or to any other Person or Persons, is against the Law of God and Nature: And therefore if a People should be so ignorant as to do it, yet it doth not at all bind them. Suppose a Man should give the King or Parliament an absolute Power over himself, his Wife and Children, and they should come to ravish his Wife, or murder his Children before his face, were he bound to stand still and suffer it? no such thing; the Law of God and Nature binds him to rescue his Wife and Children, if it be in his power, notwithstanding that unlawful Act of his in giving them away before.

The Parliament had no Authority from God to betray our Rights and Liberties; for God ordained Magistrates not for our *hurt*, but *good*, *Rom.* 13.4. They could have no authority from us, because the Law of God and Nature obligeth us to defend them; and therefore there is indeed nothing but a pretence of Authority, which is as meer a cheat as any in the world; and we have the same right to all our Freedoms and Priviledges, that we had before they gave them from us; and as soon as we can, it is not only our Liberty, but Duty, for the sake of our Wives, Children, and Posterity, to resume them again, and to turn these unfaithful Stewards out of our Service, with wages suitable to their merits.

The Lawyers say there are some cases, wherein, though the King make a Grant to a person by his Letters Patent, yet nothing passeth to the Patentee.

I am sure if Scripture, or Reason, or both, may give Judgement in our case, though the Parliament have given away our Birthrights *perfidiously* to the King, yet nothing passed of right to the King thereby.

The Parliaments giving our Birthrights to the King, is just of as much force, as if the Convocation of *Prelates*, or Council of *Bishops*, should give our souls to the Devil; they have as much Power to do the latter, as the Parliament have to do the former; for both are against the Law of God and Nature: and the King hath just as much right to our Liberties, by the Parliaments Donation, as the Devil hath to the souls of those, whom the *Bishops* excommunicate and curse.

Let us not be such Children in understanding, as to be frighted with a *Pretence* of Authority, to oppress us; for they have no other Authority, but what is derived from the Devil, and our *perfidious* Servants, the Parliament, who have sold us for nought.

CHAP. VIII.

I Come from the Power due to the Magistrate, to the Tribute; and I shall resolve this as I did the former. 1. *Positively.* 2. *Negatively.*

1. *Positively. First*, So much Tribute as is necessary for prosecuting the Ends of Government; *viz.* the Glory of God, and Good of the People, that is due to the Magistrate, and the People are in justice bound to render unto him.

Secondly, So much as is suitable to the Relation he is in. Servants must have sufficient Wages to perform their Service; yea, it is their due in point of Equity.

Magistrates are our Servants, and Wages competent to their Office is their due from us. Many Towns, Cities and Nations, have been destroyed because their Magistrates had not Wages enough to perform their Service. *Constantinople* was made a prey to the *Turk*, by the Covetousness of the Citizens, who would not furnish the Emperor with Money sufficient for the defence of the City.

Thirdly, So much Tribute as is necessary for the several Duties of Magistrates, is due to them, to carry on Justice, and protect the Land; which varies according to the greatness of their trust, and various Emergencies of publick affaires; which is the rule by which the Magistrates Wages is to be proportioned.

2. *Negatively.* What-ever Tribute is indeed hurtful to the People, is not due to the Magistrate; because it is contrary to the End for which Magistracy was ordained; he was made for their good, therefore they are not bound to maintain him to their hurt. If a Magistrate will have a Tax to maintain a standing Army, which shall keep the People in slavery, they are not bound to pay it, because it is for their hurt. If a Tax should be levied for building *Pauls*, or any other *Superstitious business*, which is burdensome to the People, they are not bound to pay it to their hurt.

What ever Tribute the Magistrate demands not correspondent to his Relation, we are not bound to pay him. If a Magistrate will multiply Silver, Gold, Horses, Wives (or *Whores*) to himself, and in order thereunto lay Taxes upon the People, they are not bound to pay what he requires; because the Lord hath forbid him to multiply *Silver*, *Gold*, or *Horses*, (and by consequence other things) to himself, *Deut.* 17. 16, 17. mark the

the expreſſion; *To himſelf*: as if the Lord ſhould have ſaid, I allow the King *Silver*, and *Gold*, and *Horſes* enough to carry on the publick Affairs of Government, but he ſhall not ſatisfie his own Pride or Coveteouſneſs, or other luſts, out of your Purſes.

We are bound to maintain the Magiſtrate as our Servant, not as our Lord; we are to pay him Tribute for the execution of Juſtice, not for the maintaining of Pride and Ambition: for the Command of God requires us to pay no more Tribute than is due, *Rom.* 13.7. τὰς ὀφειλὰς.

What Tribute is proportionable to the Relation of a Magiſtrate, I acknowledge to be his due, ſo long as he performs his duty to the People; but if he perſecute them for doing well, and oppreſs them, they are under no obligation from the Law of God or Nature to maintain him. The reaſon why the Word of God commands us to render Tribute to the Magiſtrate, is becauſe, *He is the Miniſter of God to us for good*, Rom. 13.7. and 4th verſes compared: *Render therefore to all their dues, Tribute to whom Tribute is due* &c. verſ.7. Wherefore? *Becauſe he is the Miniſter of God to thee for good*, verſ.4. And yet more plain, verſ. 6. *For, for this cauſe pay you Tribute alſo, for they are God's publick Servants, attending continually upon this very thing.* What thing is that? That which he mentioned ver.4. *praiſing them that do well, puniſhing them that do ill.*

How manifeſt is it from this place? that the cauſe why we are to pay Tribute to the Magiſtrate, is for the good he doth us; *Becauſe he is a Servant of God to us for Good.*

But what if they be Miniſters of the Devil to us for hurt? puniſhing us for doing well, attending continually upon our deſtruction, doing all they can to enſlave us, and oppreſs us, are we for this cauſe to pay them Tribute? then may we call darkneſs light, and light darkneſs; for theſe two cauſes are as contrary, as *Chriſt* and *Belial*, *Heaven* and *Hell*.

When *Rehoboam* refuſed to eaſe the People of their burdens, they eaſed themſelves, *by caſting off his Yoak*, 1 *Kings* 12.4. though they had endured many Oppreſſions in *Solomons* time, yet they would not endure it alwayes: And ſo may any People juſtly reject ſuch Governours, as lay intolerable *Taxations* and *Exactions* upon them: And why ſhould we be ſo ſlaviſh as to pay theſe men Wages, for chaſtiſing us with *Scorpions*? are we become Servants, are we homeborn-ſlaves? why are we thus ſpoiled? *The young Lyons roar on us, they yell & make our Land waſte*, Jer.2.14.

Oh! what a cry is there in the Land, of the poor and needy that periſh for want of that which theſe wicked wretches ſpend upon their luſts? for by reaſon of their Tyranny and Oppreſſion, Trade is grievouſly obſtructed, by which the Poor ſhould be maintained, and Taxes continually

tinually multiplyed; so that the greatest number of those who used to relieve the Poor, have scarcely now to provide for themselves and Family; and what they would give to the Poor, is forced from them by the Governours to maintain their *Pride* and *Luxury*, while the Poor pine away in necessity: And think you 'tis their due, to have the Patrimony of the Poor, to fulfill their lusts withal? Are we bound to pinch our selves, and starve our Poor, to make fuel for the lusts of Rulers?

Object. *But doth not Christ command us to render to* Cæsar *the things that are* Cæsars? *that is to pay Tribute to him.*

Sol. Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars; that is, what is *Cæsars* due, render unto him. This is the same with what the Apostle saith, *Rom.* 13.7. *Render therefore to every one his due, Tribute to whom Tribute is due.* Our Saviour sayes no more than this, what is justly due to Cæsar, that render to him.

2. But Christ leaves the Question unresolved, whether Tribute were due to *Cæsar* or no, he seems rather to evade than to resolve the Question, by an Answer that was dark and dubious, capable of divers interpretations, which produced wonder, not satisfaction, in the Interrogators; for it is not said they liked his answer, *but they marvelled at it, and left him*, &c. ver. 22. concluding that they were too weak to ensnare him, by the wise answer he gave them at first word. If you say, doth not Christ infer that Tribute money was *Cæsars* due, because it had *Cæsars* Image and Superscription? I answer, *No*; for by that argument, all the money in the Land were *Cæsars*, for it had his Image, and no man were worth a penny. Christ rather seems to confound the Querists, than resolve the Question; but however, he enjoyns us to pay no more than his due.

3. But take notice of this, that he joyns God's *due* and *Cæsars* together; *Give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, and unto God the things that are God's*; now the Poors due is God's, *Prov.* 19. 17. *It is lent to God*; and by the Law of God and Nature, the Poor have a right in our Estates, and ought to be maintained, and not forced to beg or steal, as many thousands are at this day: And for us to give these men what they demand, to support their lusts (if we can tell how to avoid it) is to deprive the Poor of their right, and so rob God of his due, under a pretence of giving *Cæsar* that which is not due to him.

For whatever power *Cæsar* and his Officers have to rob the Poor, and spend their due in *Lasciviousness*, *Excess of Wine*, *Revellings*, *Banquetings*, and other abominable *Prophaneness*, yet sure I am they have no right to do it.

But alas, may we not see that evil, *Eccles.* 4.1. *I returned* (sayes *Solomon*) *and considered all the Oppressions that are done under the Sun, and behold*

behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their Oppressors was power, but they had no comforter. As a roaring Lion and a ranging Bear, so is a wicked Ruler over the poor People, Prov. 28, 15.

Obj. *But did not Christ himself pay tribute to wicked Rulers,* Matth. 17. 27. *and are not we bound to be followers of Christ Jesus?*

Sol. The Text sayes no such thing, as that Christ paid Tribute, but that he gave the Tribute-gatherers *a piece of money, lest they should be offended.*

The Tribute-gatherers ask *Peter, Doth your Master pay Tribute?* ver. 24. εἰ τελεῖ? it seems they questioned whether he would or no; for they look'd upon him as an enemy to the Monarchs of this world; but *Peter* thought Christ would have paid it, and therefore answers, *Yes*: but as he was coming to ask of Christ, our Saviour prevents him with this question; *Do the Kings of the Earth take Tribute of Strangers, or Children? Of Strangers,* sayes *Peter. Then are the Children free,* sayes Christ: *Nevertheless lest we should offend them, give them a piece of money.* As if he should have said; They ask thee whether I do not pay Tribute, εἰ τελεῖ? whether I do not pay it as a due? I tell thee, no; we are Children of the Nation, free persons, and they have no right to it from us; yet lest we offend them, give them a piece of money, δὸς αὐτοῖς.

Obj. *But were not Christ and his Apostles, as members of the Commonwealth, bound to bear a share in the Publick charges of the Nation?*

Yes, in all just and reasonable Taxes; but this seems to be an *unjust* and *oppressive* Tax, such as Kings did not use to lay upon Natives of the Land, but Strangers, such as they had conquered: now *Christ* and *Peter* being free-born persons, and Children of the Nation, were in point of Equity free from this Tax; And so are we from those unreasonable Exactions, which at present are laid upon us; we are not in conscience bound to pay what they demand, for the satisfaction of their lusts, and continuation of our own slavery.

Obj. *But doth not Christ's giving money to the Tribute-gatherers, lest he should offend them, oblige us to give money to our Tribute-gatherers rather than give them offence?*

Sol. Not at all, for the case differs exceedingly.

1. *Christ* and *Peter* were but two persons, and for them two to stand out against the Rulers oppression, when all the Nation submitted to it, was in vain. Christ took upon him the form of a servant, and was pleased to humble himself so, as to live in a low condition in the world, and did not come to determine Political Controversies, by his Kingly Power, but to be in a suffering condition; and unless he should have exerced

erted the Power of his Godhead, in vindication of his own and the Nations Liberties (which at that time was not his work) it had been in vain to contend with them. But it will not follow hence that the greateſt part of the Nation had refuſed to ſubmit to that unjuſt Tax and heavy burden, it had been unlawful for them ſo to do, or is for us at this time.

2. *Chriſt* and *Peter* had a ſpecial work to do which the People of the Land had not; he was ſent to preach Glad-tydings to ſinners, to ſeek and ſave loſt ſouls, and to make known the Myſtery which had been hid from Ages; and if he ſhould have contended with the Rulers about Taxes, at ſuch a time when the Nation ſubmitted, it would have been the way to have hindered the work he came about; the Rulers would have been offended, and ſo have oppoſed his Preaching: but it will not follow hence that the generality of the Nation, who had no ſuch ſpecial work to do, might not have contended with their Rulers, for their juſt Liberties and Immunities, and caſt off thoſe heavy Burdens, which the Governours laid upon them (as they did in *Rehoboam*'s time) or that we may not contend with our Oppreſſors.

3. *Chriſt* could avoid offending the Magiſtrates by ſuch a way as we cannot: he wrought a miracle, and got the money he gave to them out of the mouth of a Fiſh: we cannot give them what they demand, but we muſt take it out of the mouthes of our Wives and Children, and the Poor, who periſh for want of that we give to the Magiſtrate, to ſpend upon his luſts. If all the People of whom theſe men demand ſuch unreaſonable Tribute, could create money; or by a miracle get it, without depriving their Wives and Children, and the Poor of their due, there might be ſomething more to be ſaid for giving them money (though that would not make it our duty) but ſure we cannot give them what they ask, without impoveriſhing our Relations, and famiſhing the Poor of the Land; I conclude there is not a ſhadow of any Obligation upon us, to give them that which they require.

Object. *But would you make particular perſons Judges in their own caſe, whether the Tribute which Magiſtrates demand be juſt and reaſonable, or neceſſary for the Publick affairs? by this means it were impoſſible for a Government to ſubſiſt. For ſome out of Ignorance, others out of Covetouſneſs, or Envy, will be alwayes complaining and never contribute freely to the Publick charge, and ſo the Nation be undone.*

Sol. Every free-born perſon may be conſidered under a twofold capacity, Private, or Publick.

1. A Private capacity, as he is one ſingle perſon, disjoyned from the reſt of the Nation, and ſo private perſons are not Judges in their own Caſe,

Case, what Tribute they are to pay the Magistrate, but ought to submit to the Judgement of the whole Nation, unless they are certain that it be unjust; for if particular persons are certain that the whole Nation decree an unrighteous Decree, they are not bound to submit unto it. For instance, if a whole Nation should denounce an unjust Judgement upon any one, to confiscate his Estate, or take away his Life, for that which he had not committed, or for doing that which God had commanded him to do; he were not bound to submit to this unjust Judgement, but might lawfully fly, and preserve his Life, and carry away his Estate also if he could. So likewise, in matters of Tribute, if a Nation should by common suffrage, decree an unrighteous War, to invade their Neighbours causelessly; a Superstitious or Idolatrous Temple to be erected, a Heathenish or Antichristian Feast to be celebrated at Publick Charges, and appoint a Tax for defraying the cost; in these or such like unlawful Statutes, a private person may refuse to submit to the whole, or to bear any part in it; Because their Judgement is contrary to the Law of God.

But now if a Nation ordain a Tax which is not contrary to the Law of God, in this case a private Person is not to be his own Judge, but to submit to the Judgement of the whole. As if a Nation by Publick consent, ordain a Tax to be raised for maintaining a Navy, to defend them by Sea, an Army by Land, to build Garrisons for common Security, or a hundred other lawful things that might be mentioned in such cases, a private person is not to be his own Judge, what he ought to pay the Magistrate, but to submit to the Judgement of the whole, because there may be need of that which he doth not apprehend.

2. But suppose it were so, that in no case, a private person might be his own Judge against the whole; yet consider a man in his publick capacity, as he is conjoyned with the whole, and so he is a Judge in his own case. For all particular persons make up the whole, and in that respect are Judges over the Magistrates; whom they made for their good, and maintain as their Servants; judges what Power, and Wages, is fit for their Servants to have.

Quæ. *But how shall we distinguish between such Tribute as is due, and such as is not due? for we had need be certain that it is not due if we refuse to pay it.*

Answ. 1. When Magistrates require Tribute for unlawful uses. For instance, if they will have Taxes to maintain their Pride, Covetousness, Lasciviousness, Luxury, Prodigality, we are not bound to pay what they demand. I deny not but in prudence we may give it them, in case we cannot avoid it, without out own undoing; as a man would rather give his Purse to a Thief, than be killed: But in Conscience we are free to

refuse, if we can with our own safety. When it is evident to the World, that Magistrates use our money, not for our good but hurt, serve their own Lusts with our wages, we are not bound to maintain them.

O how many Hundred Thousands, nay Millions of money have these men squeezed out of poor *England* within this three years? which hath been all spent upon their Luxury and our Slavery. What immeasurable Pride and Wastfulness are they guilty of? who is able to fathom the Covetousness of the Clergy and Lawyers? the insatiable Rapacity of the Courtiers? who *like the Grave, never say, 'tis enough.* A Generation, *whose teeth are as swords, and their jaw teeth are knives, to devour the poor from off the Earth, and the needy from among men,* Prov. 30. 14. A Whirl-pool that sucks in what ever comes near it, and so great, that if God permit them to continue a few years more, they will suck in the whole Land. A bottomless Pit as deep as Hell it self. And think you that it is your duty to maintain Play-houses and Whore-houses for the Courtiers, with that which should buy your Children bread, or feed the hungry bellies, and cloath the naked backs of the Poor?

2. When the Great Ones lay the burden on the Mean, the Rich cast the burden on the Poor, the Poor are not bound to bear the burden for the Rich.

If a Parliament, consisting of Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, who have the greatest part of the Revenues of the Land, will cast the burden of the Taxes upon the poor Handy-crafts-men and Labourers, who get their living by the sweat of their brows, it is unjust and not at all obligatory.

3. When the Tribute is more than the People are able to pay, without impoverishing the Land, and impairing the Common-wealth, when, not a few covetous or envious persons, but the generality of the Nation, groan under their burden, and complain 'tis more than they are able to bear, and the Governours lay on more load still; in this case the Governours are Oppressors, and the People may remedy themselves if they can.

Object. *But the People have entrusted the Parliament with this affair, and therefore what Tribute their Trustees have ordained, they are bound to pay.*

Sol. I say as before, in the case of Power, we give the Parliament Authority to raise such Tribute as is sufficient for our security, and the Service the King is to do us; but we give them no Power to impoverish or oppress us, to give away our Wives and Childrens bread, to maintain a company of Proud, Lazy, Drunken, Debauched Courtiers, filthy idle Drones, who will not work; and therefore by the Law of God

should

should not eat, 2 *Thes.* 3. 10. That the People should give away their Estates from their Wives and Children, and the Poors due also, to make Provision for the Lusts of their cruel Taskmasters, who spoil them of all their Liberties, both as Men and Christians, is more than a hundred Parliaments have Power to decree, and we are unwise to endure.

CHAP. IX.

Treating of the Honour which is due to the Magistrate.

IN the handling of this Particular, I shall observe the same Method I did in the former, and shew you,

First, What honour is due to the Magistrate.

Secondly, What is not.

1. Then, we owe to such Magistrates as are *a Terrour to evil Works, and a Praise to them that do Well*, the Honour of such just and lawful Titles as the People bestow on them; as King, Judge, Sheriff, Mayor, or the like; which is so clear both in the Old and New Testament, that it needs no proof.

2. We owe to them the acknowledgement of the good service they do us, and thankful acceptation thereof, although it be no more then their duty.

Thus we read the People did use to acknowledge the good they had received, by *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Gideon*, *David*, and other good Magistrates, and mourned for them at their Death: and good reason, for the happiness of a Land is bound up in the Government thereof.

Such Princes as Govern well, deserve Titles of Honour: The *Romans* were wont to give the Titles of *Pater Patriæ* to their good Emperours, as they did to *Augustus*, *Antoninus*, *Pius*, and others. And *Augustus*, who refused to be called the Peoples *Lord* (as I mentioned before) yet did with the highest satisfaction, and thankfulness, embrace that Title of the *Father of his Country*. The Title of *Lord of the Country*, is far inferiour in the Judgement of all wise men, to that of *Father of the Country*.

Yea good Magistrates deserve to be honourably mentioned after death, and had in blessed Memory by Posterity; as *Edward* the Sixth, that young *Josiah*, is, and will be to the Worlds end.

3. We owe them Honour in our gestures, and behaviour, as we read

the Lords People were wont to do, bowing the Head and the Body, in token of that honour which was due to them. Thus did *Nathan* to *David*, 1 *King.* 1. 23. Thus did *Mephibosheth*, 2 *Sam.* 9. 8. *Araunah*, 1 *Chron.* 21. 21. And I judge it very lawful and requisite to shew bodily respect to good Magistrates; although I cannot think it lawful for a Magistrate to punish any of the People, who are not satisfied of the lawfulness thereof, and upon that account do refuse such ceremonies, as putting off the hat, or the like.

But in the next place, What honour is not due to the Magistrate?

1. False or flattering Titles are not his due, though he be the best man upon Earth, *Job* 32. 21. *Let me not, I pray you, accept any mans person, neither let me give flattering Titles unto man; for I know not to give flattering Titles: in so doing my maker would soon take me away.*

To call a man *Defender of the Faith*, who is a *Persecutor* of it. To call a profane Tyrant, Gracious; O what abominable flattery and falsity is this? To call wicked, perjured, profane Dukes, or bloody minded *Popish* Archbishops, your *Grace*; what is it less than Blasphemy? It were fitter to call them your *Vice*, then your Grace.

O you flattering Priests, Courtiers, Lawyers, and others, who thus accustome your mouthes to lyes, that you draw them in like your breath; consider what your portion will be from the Lord, *Rev.* 21. 8. you are all to be *cast into the Lake that burneth with fire and brimstone. The getting of treasures by a lying tongue, is a vanity tossed to and fro of them that seek death*, Prov. 21. 6.

What shall be given unto thee? or what shall be done unto thee, O thou false tongue? sharp arrows of the Mighty, with coals of Juniper, Psal. 120. 3, *and* 4.

If you do not speedily repent, know that you shall cry out one day for a drop of Water to cool this lying flattering tongue. But I know what your wicked hearts will answer, *Let us alone till then and we care not*; know therefore, that not onely God, but the People will abhor you; the Lord hath denounced that curse against you, *Prov.* 24. 24. *He that saith to the wicked thou art righteous, him shall the People curse, Nations shall abhor him.*

2. The just and lawful Titles of Good Magistrates, are not due to wicked Magistrates; but they forfeit their right thereto, by their Tyranny and Oppression, or other misgovernment. And therefore we find the Prophets, Christ, and Apostles, giving to wicked Magistrates Titles of ignominy and disgrace, suitable to their merits.

Elijah tells wicked *Ahab* to his face, *Thou art he that troubleth Israel*, 1 King. 18. 18.

Elisha

Elisha calls King *Jehoram*, *The Son of a Murderer*, 2 *Kings* 6. 32. *Isaiah* calls the Rulers of his time, *Rulers of Sodom*, Isa. 1. 10. *Ezekiel* calls the King of Israel, *Prophane wicked Prince*, Ezek. 21. 25.

Christ calls *Herod*, *Fox*, and bids them go and tell him *so*, *Luke* 13. 32.

Paul calls the *Roman* Emperor, *A Lyon*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 17. Yea, the Apostles, and many thousands of Christians together (for so the company of Believers was, *Acts* 2. 41.) with one accord in their Prayers, mention *Herod* and *Pontius Pilate*, by name, spread their wickedness before God, and desire the Lord, *To behold their Threats*, Acts 4. 27.

It was no wonder the holy Prophets were so persecuted by wicked Rulers, since they were such faithful plain-dealing men, that knew not how to give flattering Titles unto them; but called them *Rulers of Sodom*, *Troublers of Israel*, *Sons of Murderers*, and *Prophane wicked Persons*. No wonder the Governours looked upon Christ and his Apostles with an *Evil eye*, and punished them as *Seditious men*; since they called them *Foxes*, *Lyons*, and gave them such reproachful Titles, as they had deserved. They hated plain-dealing and reproof, as all Tyrants do, and would be sure to suppress that spirit (if they could) which dared presume to reprehend their wickedness; and yet these holy Men were not afraid to give them Titles of dishonour, answerable to their merits.

Oh you wicked flatterers! that daub with untempered morter, and flatter great Men for advantage, see here what the holy Prophets and Apostles did, and take shame to your selves for your filthiness. *Woe to him that calleth good evil, and evil good, that putteth Darkness for Light, and Light for Darkness*, Isa. 5. 20. *Who justifie the wicked for reward, and take away the Righteousness of the Righteous from him. Your root shall be rottenness, and your blossom dust.* The Lord is no respecter of Persons, and hath forbid us to be so. If Kings or great Men be wicked, they deserve to be called as they are. Nay, take notice of this, that when the Christians in their assembly, lift up their voice with one accord to God, and boldly prayed to the Lord, *To behold the Threats of Herod and Pontius Pilate*, whom they mentioned by Name, relating their wickedness; the Lord shewed how exceedingly he was pleased therewith, in that, as soon as the prayer was ended, the place was shaken, *and they were all filled with the holy Spirit*, *and great Grace was upon them all.* Perhaps if there were more boldness in the Assemblies of the Saints at this day, in bearing a faithful Testimony for God against these wicked Rulers, there would be a greater Presence of the Spirit of God among them, and greater measures of Grace upon them.

And

And in like manner have the faithful Servants of the Lord in all Ages, born their Teſtimony againſt the wickedneſs of their Rulers.

The Title which *John Knox*, that famous Servant of Jeſus Chriſt, and eminent Inſtrument of the *Scotiſh* Reformation, frequently gave to the Tyrannous *Queen*, who ruled the Land, was, *Bondſlave of Satan*; and he conſtantly prayed in publick, in words to this purpoſe, *That God would deliver her from the Power of Satan, to whom ſhe was now a bondſlave.*

John Hus, that glorious Martyr of *Jeſus Chriſt*, was not afraid to affirm to the Emperors face, *That wicked Kings were not worthily Kings before God*, *Acts* and *Mon.* Vol. 1. Pag. 807. And pag. 813. he ſayes, *That Subjects and common People ought openly and publickly to detect and reprove the Vices of their Rulers, having Power given them of Chriſt, and Example of Paul ſo to do.*

The Biſhop of *Burgen*, in his *Oration* which he made in the Counſel of *Baſil*, layes down this aſſertion; *It is abſurd for a King to be of more Authority than his Kingdom: and he that ruleth not for the Good of his Subjects, is not to be counted a King, but a Tyrant.*

Eleutherius, in the Letter which he ſent to *Lucius*, King of this Iſland, about 170. years after the Death of Chriſt, affirms the ſame in theſe words; *A King hath his Name of Ruling, not of having a Kingdom; and ſo long ſhall you be a King indeed, while you rule well; which if you do not, the Name of a King ſhall not remain with you, but you ſhall loſe it*, *Acts* and *Mon.* Vol. 1. Pag. 139. Which *Eleutherius* is in high eſteem by Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians, for the Eminency of his Wiſdom and Piety both; as indeed that very Epiſtle doth ſufficiently evidence, he deſerves to be.

Thus you ſee ſeveral eminent Lights in the Church of God, concur in the ſame *Perſwaſion*, *That wicked Magiſtrates have no right to the Titles of ſuch Magiſtrates as rule well.* Nay, the Antient Laws of this Nation give full teſtimony to this Truth: For in the Chapter of the Laws of King *Edward* (commonly called the *Confeſſor*) (by whom moſt of the good Laws we enjoy were made) treating of the duty of the King, the Law ſaith thus,

The King, becauſe he is the Vicegerent of the higheſt King, is appointed for this purpoſe, to reverence and rule the Kingdom, the Lords People, and holy Church, and to defend them from injurious perſons; to pluck away evildoers utterly, to ſcatter and deſtroy them; which if he doth not perform, the Name of a King ſhall not agree to him, but he looſeth the title of a King.

Well then, let no man be ſo fooliſh and perverſe, as to charge this aſſertion with novelty or ſingularity; for you ſee what abundant Evidence

dence there is, both from Scripture and Reason, *That a wicked and unrighteous King, forfeits his right to the Title of a King.* And though the *perfidious Parliament* (or rather *mock Parliament*) have lately betrayed their own Truſt, and our Liberties, making it Treaſon for us to mention the cruel Tyranny and Oppreſſion we groan under; yet by the antient Laws of *England*, this man that rules at preſent, is no rightful *King* of *England*; but by oppreſſing the Nation, and perſecuting the Lords People, hath loſt the Title of a King; and that the Name of a King doth not agree to him; but *Tyrant* is the Name due to him.

Object. *But doth not Elihu ſay*, Job 34. 18. *Is it fit to ſay to a King thou art wicked, and to Princes, ye are ungodly?*

Sol. That is to a King in Truth, not in ſhew; not one that is a Tyrant under the Name of a King. נדיב properly ſignifies *Conſul*, a wiſe and diſcreet Governour, who is a true King. Tyrants are not here meant. A King is one thing, and a Tyrant another.

So the word tranſlated Princes, is, נדיבים, *liberal*, or, *ingenuous perſons*; To call wiſe or ingenuous Governours *wicked*, were a ſlander: but doth it follow hence, that we may not call *irrational*, *covetous*, *diſ-ingenuous oppreſſing*, Rulers, *Wicked*? the ſcope of the place plainly intimates this to be the meaning of the words; for the verſe foregoing, he ſayes, *Wilt thou condemn him that is Moſt Juſt?* meaning God; and then argues, *A minore ad majus*, from the leſſer to the greater. If it be unlawful to ſay to a wiſe or liberal Governour, *thou art wicked*: How much more unlawful is it to condemn *God*, who is the *Moſt Juſt*, *Wiſe*, *and Liberal?*

And by the verſe following, it is evident, that he doth not intend to aſſert the Priviledge of Princes or great men above others; for he tells us, that God accepts not the perſons of Princes or Rich men, more than the Poor: and it is obſervable, that when he ſpeaks of ſuch Princes, whoſe Perſons are not accepted by God, he doth not uſe that expreſſion which is tranſlated *Princes*, ver. 18. and hath a virtuous ſignification, but שר, a word which hath no virtuous ſignification, but ſignifies barely *Princes* or *great Men*; and he tells us, *That God regards no man for his greatneſs*: and if this place ſhould be underſtood (as the *Royaliſts* would have it) to forbid us to ſpeak diſgracefully of wicked Rulers; then the holy Prophets and Apoſtles are to be blamed, for they did ſo, as you have ſeen before; but that is the true interpretation of the place which I have given; the other is only a gloſs which the Prelates give to ſupport Tyrants, under the ſhadow of whoſe wings they ſhelter themſelves.

Object. *But is it not ſaid, who may ſay to a King, what doſt thou?* Eccleſ. 8. 4.

Sol.

Sol. This argues the danger of opposing a King, not the unlawfulness. In the word of a King is Power; he hath so much Power at his command, that no private person under his Government, is able to oppose him without his own ruine.

But the meaning of the place is this; The King, for the execution of Justice, and punishing Evil-doers, hath so much power both from God and the People, that none may oppose him in the execution of Justice; and that this is the meaning of the wise Man, appears by the verse foregoing: *Stand not before him in an evil thing*, sayes he; and then gives this as a reason; *for he doth whatsoever he pleaseth, and who may say to him, what dost thou*; that is, in punishing such as will stand before him in an evil thing. But it is clear enough that the faithful Servants of God in Scripture, have said more to wicked Kings, than, *what dost thou?* *Samuel* said to *Saul*, *Thou hast done foolishly*, 1 Sam. 13. 13. *Elijah* to *Ahab*, *Thou art he that troubleth Israel*; yea, the People of God were bound to restrain and punish wicked Kings; and frequently did so, as I shall shew hereafter.

Object. *Doth not Paul confess his Error in speaking reproachfully of the High Priest, though a wicked Ruler; and thereby teach us, That it is unlawful to speak reproachfully of wicked Rulers?* Acts 23.4,5.

Sol. No such thing; the words do rather prove the direct contrary: for it is clear that *Paul* calls a *wicked Ruler*, *Whited-wall*; gives him a disgraceful Title.

2. *Paul* knew him to be a Ruler when he called him so; for sayes he, *Sittest thou to judge me after the Law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the Law?* vers. 3. he knew him to be Judge, and yet calls him *Whited-wall*; and without doubt he knew him to be the man they called *High Priest*, by the High Priests Robes, and the Place where he sate; for *Paul* full-well understood the Customes of the *Jews*.

3. Whereas it is alledged, That *Paul* corrects himself, or recants afterwards; there is no ground for it; *I wist not*, sayes *Paul*, *that he was High Priest*; that is, truly and really so; as indeed he could not be, because the *High-Priesthood*, was abrogated by the Death of Christ, who was the true *High Priest*. And besides he was a Tyrant, and caused him to be smitten contrary to the Law; and therefore no lawful Ruler; and the Apostle answers not only the Objection which they made against him, for reviling the High Priest, by saying he did not know him to be High Priest, or own him for High Priest; but prevents another Objection which they might more plausibly make, from *Exod.* 22. 28. *Thou shalt not revile the gods, or blaspheme the Ruler of thy People.* As if he should have said; I know you will say I have broken that Law, by

speaking

ſpeaking evil of a Ruler, but you are miſtaken; the Law doth not forbid us to ſpeak evil of Tyrants, or Oppreſſors, but of lawful Rulers, who govern in Righteouſneſs. I do not own him for High Prieſt, or a lawful Ruler (though I know he ſits as Judge) that will thus wickedly pervert Juſtice. If he had been a good and lawful Ruler, I would not have ſpoken ſo reproachfully of him, as to have called him *Whited-wall*; but have honoured him; but this man, under the Title of *High Prieſt* and *Judge*, is a *real Tyrant*; and therefore I have not broken that Law. So that *Pauls* Anſwer to their Objection, is a vindication of himſelf, and the Conformity of his practice to the Law of God.

4. And that place which *Paul* cites out of the Law, *Exod.* 22.28. by the Title given to the Magiſtrate, ſhews that it means only *juſt* and *righteous* Magiſtrates, which rule according to God's Law; *Thou ſhalt not revile the gods.* Why are they called *gods*, but becauſe they repreſent the Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Truth of God, and are in his ſtead to execute Juſtice according to his Word? This Chriſt gives for the reaſon why they were called gods, *John* 10.35. *Becauſe the Word of God came to them*; that is, his Word of Commiſſion, to execute the Word of his Judgements: but if they do the quite contrary (as this *Wicked Ruler*) they repreſent the Devil, and not God; and as I hinted before, are more fitly termed *Devils* than *gods*.

5. This Text which *Paul* mentions, doth not forbid any juſt and plain reprehenſion of wicked Rulers: To ſpeak the Truth to, or of them, to tell them of their *Vices*, relate their *Abominations*, or give them ſuch *Titles* as they deſerve. But to ſlander or reproach good Rulers undeſervedly, which wicked men are very apt unto, if they puniſh them for their evil doing. The word in the Hebrew is commonly uſed for curſing or blaſpheming; and in the Greek, ἀκακῶς κακῶς, *Thou ſhalt not ſpeak wickedly of a Ruler.* But to ſpeak the truth of a Ruler, in reproving him for his wickedneſs, or giving him ſuch Titles as are anſwerable to his merits, is not to blaſpheme or ſpeak wickedly; for then the holy Prophets and Apoſtles, had been guilty of blaſphemings, and ſpeaking wickedly, in reproving wicked Rulers, and calling them by ſuch reproachful Names as they deſerved: and without doubt, the Apoſtle *Paul* meant not to forbid us to ſpeak of Rulers as they deſerved; for he calls *Ceſar*, *A Lyon*, 2 Tim. 4.17. after this.

Object. *But doth not Luke give Theophilus, the Title of Moſt Excellent*, Luke 1.3. *and Paul give Feſtus the Title of Moſt Noble*, Acts 26.25. *who was a wicked man.*

Sol. The word in the Greek, in both thoſe places, is, κράτιστε, which word hath a double ſignification. Sometimes it is taken for the beſt;

Optimus; and sometimes for the strongest or most powerful, *Potentissimus*; and it should be rendred here, from *κατ' ἐξοχὴν robur*, most powerful; and it is one thing to call a man Powerful, another to call him Noble, or Honourable. A man may be Powerfull and yet not honourable; For Honour is due to Virtue not to Strength. And therefore I conclude that it may be more rationally interpreted Powerful than Noble, since the word properly signifies so.

Object. *But are we not commanded to honour the King*, 1 Pet. 2. 17? *Fear God, Honor the King.*

Sol. We are no more commanded to honour the King, than all other men; for the whole *verse* runs thus, *Honour all men, love the Brotherhood, fear God, honour the King.* And the very same word is used for the honour we are commanded to give to all others, that is, for the honour we are to give the King. *We must give honour to whom honour is due.* Rom. 13. 7. If the King be a real King, a lawful Ruler, who Governs well, we are to honour him, but if he be a Tyrant or Oppressor, as I shewed before, he forfeits his Title of King, and deserves to be called as he is.

Object. *But if wicked Kings forfeit their Title by Tyranny, and evil Government, why then are they called Kings still as long as they possess the Crown?*

Solution, There is a twofold sence in which the word King may be taken.

1. For a King Regnant, a King *de facto*, one that sits on the Throne, wears the Crown, swayes the Scepter, bears the Sword, and actually Rules the Land.

2. A rightful King, or a King *de jure*, one that hath a right to do all this.

Now wicked Kings are called Kings in the former sence, but are not called so in the latter. They are Kings *Regnant*, but not Rightful Kings. They have not their name from any right they have to the Government, but because they are possessed of it, and, at the present are suffered by God and the People to sit on the Throne. Even as the Devil is called *the God of this World*, because he doth actually bear rule in the hearts of the men of this world, not that he is a rightful Ruler over them, but because he hath them at his command under his Power, and is generally received by the men of this World for their God and Ruler.

Object. *But why did Daniel use that Court phrase to salute the King, which was a wicked Ruler*, Dan. 6. 21. *O King, live for ever.*

Sol. Very likely *Daniel* prayed for his Eternal Life; For though the rest of the Courtiers used it as a vain formal complement, yet in regard the

the words will bear a good ſence, it is likely that ſo Godly a man as *Daniel* meant in the beſt ſence, and ſo wiſhed his Salvation. But if *Daniel* ſhould have meant vainly as the reſt of the Courtiers did, it was his failing; as it was *Joſephs* to ſwear by the Life of *Pharaoh*; and is not imitable by us.

Object. *But doth not the Apoſtle Peter make it one of the Characters of thoſe who are unjuſt, and are reſerved to the day of Judgement, to be puniſhed, that they deſpiſe Government and ſpeak evil of Dignities?* 2. Pet. 2. 10.

Sol. It is one thing to deſpiſe Government, another thing to deſpiſe Tyranny. Government is as I have ſhewed before, from God; Tyranny from the Devil. We may not deſpiſe lawful Rulers, ſuch as execute Juſtice, and rule in the Fear of God; but we may deſpiſe thoſe Rulers who Oppreſs, Murder and Deſtroy the People.

Again, though we may not ſpeak reproachfully of Dignity, or Glory, (as the word ſignifies) yet we may of Tyranny. For there is no dignity in Tyranny, it is the higheſt indignity in the World. We may not ſpeak reproachfully of Government, becauſe it is Gods Ordinance for our good, and there's much Dignity or Glory in Gods *Inſtitution*. But we may of Tyranny, becauſe it is an Invention of the Devil and wicked Men, for our hurt, and is a vile abominable thing, hateful to God and Man.

But that I may cloſe this particular of the Honour due to the Magiſtrate.

3. A wicked Magiſtrate hath no right to that Honour or Reverence, which is due to a good Magiſtrate, in the external geſtures of the Body. A Proud, Tyrannous, Lordly Magiſtrate, who forgets his Relation of being a Servant to the People, and hath his heart lifted up above his brethren, contrary to the Law of God, *Deut.* 17. 20. forfeits his right to that external Reverence, of bowing the Head or Body, which is due to a humble, painful, and faithful Magiſtrate. Therefore it was, that when *Reboboam* domineered over the People in that proud inſolent manner, they refuſed to honour him any longer, but gave him a very diminutive title; *What portion have we in the Son of Jeſſe*, 1 King. 12. 16. and bid him look to his own Houſe. And well he deſerved to be ſo ſlighted, for doth not the Word of God ſay? *Bleſſed is the man that reſpecteth not the proud, nor ſuch as turn aſide to lies*, Pſal. 40. 4.

Therefore it was that ſingle hearted *Mordecai* would not bow nor do any reverence to wicked *Haman*, though he were the greateſt Prince of the Empire, *Eſter* 3. 2. And the King had commanded that all men

should bow and do him reverence; *Mordecai* knew he deserved no honour because he was a proud and unworthy person.

But how far forth in a case of necessity (when we cannot avoid it without endangering our Lives or Liberties) we may dispense with this Ceremony of bowing the Head, or uncovering it, before a wicked Magistrate, is another question.

For though we owe him no such honour, yet we may owe to our selves such a gesture, for preservation of our Lives or Liberties. For if *David* might eat of the *Shew-bread*, for the satisfaction of hunger, which was not otherwise lawful, *Mat.* 12.4. I conceive we may as lawfully bow the Body or uncover the Head to a Ruler, who doth not deserve it from us, rather than destroy our selves; as one would to a Thief on the high way rather than be killed or wounded.

CHAP. X.

Treating of the Obedience due to the Magistrate.

I Am now come to the last Particular mentioned in the Description of Magistracy.

The Obedience which is due to him, which I shall resolve,

First, Positively.

Secondly, Negatively.

1. Positively, To follow the common received Distinction of Obedience Active and Passive, we owe both to a lawful Magistrate, in all his just and lawful Commands.

First, If the Magistrate command us to do any thing which he hath Authority from God and the People to command, we are bound to obey him actively: If he command us to perform our part in the carrying on of Justice, to assist in apprehending a Murderer, to be of a Jury to make inquisition for Innocent Blood, to testify the truth between a man and his neighbour in case of injury; to keep watch or ward for defence of the Land from Forreign or Domestick Enemies; and abundance of other cases might be mentioned, wherein the Magistrate is not able to perform the Trust reposed in him, unless the People do their Duty also.

If the Magistrate command us to depart from any vitious Assembly, to restore any man his due, to observe just Weights and Measures in our commerce, to keep the Peace, to render him such Tribute as is due, or

to

to obey any other just and righteous Law it is our duty to yeeld a ready and chearful obedience thereto.

Secondly, We are bound to obey him Passively, if we have by our Transgressions fallen under the condemnation of any just and righteous Law. If a Man or Woman have committed Theft, Murder, Adultery, Perjury, Extortion, or any other wickedness punishable by the Law, and be brought before the Magistrate, who is by God and the People entrusted with the Sword, for the punishment thereof; it is their duty patiently to submit to such punishment, as they have deserved.

Whether one may not lawfully fly and with-draw himself peaceably, if he be guilty of Punishment, especially in a case of Life and Death, is a Question I have not time to discourse here.

But to make any violent resistance, or forcibly to oppose the Magistrate, in executing just punishment upon us for our evil Deeds, is utterly unlawful.

Thus far I grant the Scriptures command us to obey Magistrates actively, in performing all their just and lawful commands; passively, in submitting to such due punishment as they inflict upon us for doing evil.

And this is the submission *Peter* speaks of, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, 14. *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, whether it be to the King as Supream, or unto Governours, as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and praise of them that do well.*

Mark well the *Submission* the Apostle requires, we are to submit to those Governours, that come for the *Punishment of evil doers, and Praise of them that do well.*

The same doth the Apostle *Paul* teach, *Rom.* 13. 4. 5. *For he is the minister* (or servant) *of God to thee for good; but if thou do evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the Sword in vain, for he is the Servant of God, a Revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not onely for wrath, but for Conscience sake.*

It is not left to our liberty, whether we will be subject or no, to those Magistrates that *punish evill doers, and praise them that do well*, but in point of Conscience we are bound to be subject unto them.

Indeed, the very Light of Nature teacheth subjection to such Governours, as punish Vice and praise Virtue: and to resist the Magistrate in the due punishing of Vice, or praise of Virtue, is not only a Violation of the Law of God, written in the Scriptures of Truth, but of the Law of Nature written in the hearts of all mankind. But the greatest Question will be, what obedience we do not owe to the Magistrate; for I need not spend my time and pains to confirm that which is so clear.

2, *Nega-*

2. *Negatively*, I affirm as followeth.

1. The Obedience due to the Magistrate from the People, is no servile obedience, but a free, liberal and ingenuous Obedience: It is not the obedience of Servants to a Master, but of Free-men to their own Servant.

Wherefore ye must needs be subject, Rom. 13. 5. What means that *wherefore*? it relates to ver. 4. *For he is a Servant of God TO thee*. As if he should have said; Therefore ye must needs be subject, because he is a servant of God *To You* for good. Magistrates ought to command the People not in a lordly, proud, magisterial manner, as if the People were their Vassals, but in a humble, modest, ministerial manner, as being Servants to God and them whom they do command; mixing Entreaties with Commands. Thus did *Moses* treat the People, in a respectful manner, entreating them as well as commanding, *Numb.* 16. 26. Thus did *Nehemiah*, chap. 5. 10, 11. Yea the very wicked Kings themselves had not so much forgotten their relation, but they remembred to speak respectively to the People, 1 *Sam.* 23. 22. 1 *King.* 20. 7. 2 *Kings* 5. 7. But now every inferiour Officer commands us after a most insolent and lordly manner, as if we were home-born slaves.

2. The obedience due to the Magistrate is not excentrical to his Office; if the Magistrate command the People to do a thing that is in it self lawful, yet if it be extrinsecal to his Office, the People owe him no obedience therein; because he hath no power to command us any thing besides his Office. We owe the Magistrate obedience in every lawful Command, but not in every lawful thing. For it is unlawful for the Magistrate to command us many lawful things. It may be lawful for a man to take the Magistrate's daughter to wife, or a woman to take his son for her husband; but if he commands them to do so, they are not bound to obey him, because he hath no power to give such a Command. It may be lawful for any one to lend the Magistrate his money, or goods, without security; yet if the Magistrate command a man to do so, he is not bound to obey him.

3. We owe the Magistrate no sinful obedience. To obey him rather than God, is a most Atheistical practice. *Daniel* would not obey *Darius* his wicked Command, *Dan.* 6. 10. *Daniel* prayed the more boldly and openly, because the King had forbid him. *Hananiah*, *Mishael*, and *Azariah* would not fall down to *Nebuchadnezzar's* Image, *Dan.* 3. 16, to 19. The Apostles would not forbear preaching for the Command of the Rulers, but continued in their Work, notwithstanding all their threats, *Acts* 4. 19, 20. they told the High-Priest and Council, *that they would preach*: And when they were apprehended again for Preaching,

ing, *Acts* 5. 27. They told the Rulers plainly, *that they ought to obey God rather than them*, and charged them with the murder of Christ to their faces.

If Magistrates command us to persecute the Lord's People, to oppress the Innocent, to hale the faithful Servants of God to Prisons, to be upon the Guard while they spill innocent blood; to prevent any from rescuing such as they intend to murder, we are not to obey them but God.

4. We owe the Magistrate no passive obedience or subjection, in case he injure or oppress us. If we have done that which is evil, we are bound to submit our selves to the Magistrate, as the Servant of God and the People, to execute wrath upon us; but if he punish us for doing well, oppress the Innocent, and pervert Justice, we are not bound to submit our selves to him, but may lawfully resist him. Which I prove thus.

1. Because the Law of God doth not command us to be subject to the Magistrate, or forbid us to resist him, if he oppress us, and offer violence to us. Now *sin is a transgression of the Law*, 1 John 3. 4. and *where there is no Law, there is no transgression*, Rom. 4. 15. But all the Prelates in *England* cannot produce any Law of God, which forbids us to defend our selves from the injury, or injustice, of the Magistrate, or to resist him in our own defence.

The great place they urge to prove the unlawfulness of resistance, is that, *Rom.* 13. Let us therefore take a survey of that place, and see if there be any injunction to obey an unjust or oppressing Magistrate, or any prohibition to resist him.

And truly we shall find just as much reason from that place for subjection and obedience to a wicked oppressing persecuting Magistrate, as from 1 *Thess.* 5. 12, 13. 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. *Heb.* 13. 17. for obedience and submission to an ignorant, proud & persecuting Minister. The Apostle commands us *to obey them that have the rule over us, and submit our selves to them, because they watch for our souls, that they may be able to render an account of them with joy in our salvation*: Will it follow therefore, we must obey and submit to such Ministers as would poison and destroy our souls, and lead us to Hell and Damnation? *The Elders that rule well are worthy of double honour, especially those who labour in the Word and Doctrine*: Will it follow therefore that we must give double honour to the Elders who rule wickedly, and labour not in the Word and Doctrine?

The very same doth the Scripture assert concerning Magistracy. *Paul* commands us *to be subject to the Magistrate*, and tells us why: *for he is the Servant of God to us for good*, he is one that will *praise us if we do well*;

and

and he is *not a terror to good works*, but *to evil*: Will it follow therefore we muſt be ſubject to a Magiſtrate, who is a *terror to good works*, and a *praiſe to evil*; that *puniſheth good men*, and *praiſeth wicked men*? What a ridiculous, irrational Argument is this? But to lay open the folly of this Inference a little more plainly and diſtinctly.

1. The Power the Apoſtle forbids us to reſiſt, is, *The Ordinance of God*: but a Power to oppreſs, or do injuſtice, is none of God's Ordinance, but the Devils; therefore we may reſiſt that. God hath ordained no Power to oppreſs or injure the People; and therefore in reſiſting a Power that oppreſſeth us, we cannot reſiſt God's Ordinance. The holy Spirit repreſenting the tyrannous Kings of the fourth Monarchy, by a beaſtly cruel Moniter, *Rev.* 13. 1, 2. tells us, that *the Dragon*, or Devil, *gave them their Power*. Lawful Power to execute Juſtice, and protect the People, is derived from God. Tyrannous Power, to do Injuſtice and oppreſs the People, is derived from the Devil. Now ſurely to reſiſt that Power which is derived from the Devil, is not to reſiſt God's Ordinance; nay, it is blaſphemy againſt God to ſay ſo.

2. He that reſiſteth the Power *Paul* ſpeaks of, ſhall receive to himſelf damnation or judgment. Therefore it is clear he means not an unjuſt or oppreſſing Power, but a juſt, rational and righteous Power. Tyrants and Oppreſſors have been often reſiſted by the Lord's People, as I ſhall ſhew anon out of Scripture. And the *French*, *Bohemians*, *Scots*, and moſt, if not all the Proteſtant Nations, have reſiſted the oppreſſing Power of their wicked Rulers. Thoſe confident and faithful Witneſſes of Chriſt, the *Waldenſes*, have frequently oppoſed their unrighteous Magiſtrates, by force of Arms, and now lately done the ſame; and think you they ſhall all receive damnation for reſiſting that Power, which is derived from the Devil? or for reſiſting Tyrants, which are not God's but the Devil's Vicegerents?

3. The Power the Apoſtle forbids us to reſiſt, is a Power that if we do well, we ſhall have praiſe of the ſame, *Rom.* 13. 3. but an oppreſſing unrighteous Power, doth not praiſe us when we do well, therefore we may reſiſt that. An unjuſt Power will praiſe thoſe that do evil, and diſpraiſe thoſe that do well, as we ſee moſt evidently at preſent.

4. The Magiſtrate *Paul* forbids us to reſiſt, is one who is a *Miniſter* or Servant *of God to us for good*: but an unrighteous, oppreſſing Magiſtrate is a Servant of the Devil to us for hurt, therefore we may reſiſt him.

5. The Rulers we are forbid to reſiſt, are ſuch as are not a terror to good works, but to *evil*, *Rom.* 13. 3. But Tyrants and Oppreſſors are not a terror *to evil works*, *but to good*; therefore we may reſiſt them.

6. The

6. The cauſe why we are commanded to be ſubject to, and forbid to reſiſt a Righteous Magiſtrate, doth not agree to an Oppreſſor: for if you obſerve the reaſon which the Apoſtle urgeth all along that diſcourſe, for ſubjection to the Magiſtrate, cannot be applied to an Oppreſſor.

He that reſiſteth, ſaith the Apoſtle, *ſhall receive to himſelf damnation.*

One might anſwer, This is a very hard ſaying, that you ſhould threaten us ſo ſeverely, if we reſiſt: but ſayes the Apoſtle, Conſider well the reaſon, and you ſhall confeſs there's reaſon enough for it; For Rulers are not a terror to good works, but to evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the Power? Do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame: *for he is the Miniſter of God to thee for good*, ver. 3, 4. Indeed if I threatned you for reſiſting Tyrants or Oppreſſors, who are a terror to good works, and a praiſe to evil; who are enemies to you, and ſeek your hurt, you might ſay it were a hard ſaying; but ſince I forbid you to reſiſt only thoſe that praiſe you when you do well, and are Servants to God and you for your good, you have no reaſon to ſay I ſpeak harſhly; for it is a great wickedneſs to reſiſt righteous Magiſtrates.

Again, when the Apoſtle bids us be afraid of the Magiſtrate, if we do evil; he gives us this reaſon for it: *for he is the Miniſter*, or Servant, *of God, a Revenger, to execute Wrath upon him that doth evil*, v. 4. *Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience ſake*, ver. 5. But this can lay no obligation upon our Conſcience, to be ſubject unto one who is a Servant of the Devil, to revenge him upon thoſe that do well.

So likewiſe (ver. 6.) he tells us the cauſe why we are to pay Tribute to Magiſtrates. *For, for this cauſe pay ye Tribute, becauſe they are God's Miniſters* (or Publick Servants) *attending continually upon this very thing.* What thing is that? that which he had mentioned before: [*They are God's Servants, continually attending upon your good, to praiſe thoſe that do well, to puniſh thoſe that do evil: and this is the cauſe why you are to pay them Tribute.*] But there's no ſuch cauſe to acknowledge unrighteous Rulers, but one may plainly invert the words thus: For this cauſe pay them *no Tribute*, for they are the *Devil's ſervants*, continually attending upon this very thing, to injure and oppreſs you.

So that I conlude there is no reaſon or cauſe why we ſhould be ſubject to Oppreſſors, and therefore no obligation.

Object. *But doth not the Apoſtle mean Nero, becauſe he ſayes, Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher Powers? now it is generally received, that Nero was the higheſt power when the Apoſtle wrote this Epiſtle.*

Sol. 1. There are very learned men who do affirm otherwiſe; that

this Epistle was written in the dayes of *Claudius Cæsar*; but because Histories are so various, I shall not insist on that.

2. Suppose it had been written in the Reign of *Nero*, either it was written in the first five years of his reign, while he ruled well, or afterwards, when he turned Tyrant. If it were written in the first five years of his reign, and we should allow that the Apostle means *Nero*, yet this doth no way contradict what I have asserted, *That it is lawful to resist Tyrants or Oppressors*. For while he ruled well, I shall grant, that it was unlawful to resist him. But if it were written after the time that *Nero* turned Tyrant, which is that the advocates of Tyranny would have, I utterly deny that the Apostle means *Nero*, for these reasons.

First, Because the Properties of this Power which the Apostle speaks of, do no more agree with *Nero*, after he turned Tyrant; then the Properties of Light with Darkness. The Power *Paul* speaks of, is a praise to them that do well, and a terrour to them that do evil: but *Nero* was then one of the greatest terrours to them that did well, that ever was in the world; the greatest *Murderer* of the *Saints*, that filled the streets with the dead bodies of those that did well. The Magistrate *Paul* speaks of, *Is a Servant of God to the People for good*. *Nero* was the greatest plague, one of them, that ever was both to the Church of God, and the whole world; one that murdered *Senators*, *Citizens*, *Christians*, *Kindred*, all manner of persons; filled the Rivers with Christian-blood.

Secondly, The Magistrate *Paul* speaks of, is one whom we are to *honour*, vers. 7. but *Paul* himself speaks reproachfully of *Nero*, and calls him *Lyon*, 2 *Tim.* 4. 17. Nay, Thirdly;

By this interpretation, the *Senate* of *Rome* must be damned, because they resisted *Nero*, and condemned him to a most shameful Death; which action of theirs was never disapproved of, by any man that had not lost his Wits or Conscience, or both, as it is to be feared most of the Prelates have, before they undertake to plead for Tyranny.

But I conceive it to be meant, neither of *Nero* (in the time while he reigned well, nor in the time of his Tyranny) or any other particular Governour, or Governours, but of Government in the general, as the Ordinance of God, and true Magistrates, who are conformable thereto; as indeed the whole Series of arguments, which the Apostle there uses, doth evidence. The Apostle in that *Chapter*, gives us a summary of the Doctrine of Magistracy; the Lord knew that his Church would increase, and that the multitude of Believers would be more and more augmented, till the Second coming of Christ; and therefore he left rules of Magistracy, to direct Christians how to behave themselves in conformity to that Ordinance. The Apostle doth most perspicuously

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ly lay down the Nature and End of Magistracy; the duties of Magistrate and People, Rulers and Ruled; with the grounds and reasons thereof; Shewing Christians what is the Magistrates Relation to God and them; and what is the benifit and advantage of this Ordinance; and perswading them to live in subjection to those, who govern according to the Rules of Magistracy: but here is not a word of Tyranny, or subjection to Tyrants to be found.

And whereas he bids us, *Be subject to the Higher Powers*, that also makes it plain that he meant not *Nero*, or any other particular person; for he puts it in the Plural Number, taking in all lawful Governours whatsoever, as well as the chief Magistrate: and it were better rendered, the *Super-eminent Authorities*; or, the *Authorities* that are over us; and so *Judges*, *Mayors*, and other subordinate Governours, are as fitly termed Authorities over us, as the Supream Magistrate; they are as much the Ordinance of God as he, *Servants of God to us for good*, and appointed to punish Evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well; and the chief Magistrate is not the *highest Power*, for the Peoples power is above his; they make him, and maintain him, and can depose him if he deserve it, as the *Senate* of *Rome* did *Nero*; for *Nero* was not the highest Power of *Rome*, but the *Senates* Power was above his, and for his Tyranny they condemned him to a most *Shameful Death*; to avoid which he executed himself.

Object. *But doth not the Apostle command us to be subject to the Powers that are? it seems by that, that whosoever have the Power we must be subject to them, good or bad Governours.*

Sol. No such thing: For the word translated Powers, in its proper and native signification, is, *Authorities*, or *lawful Powers*, ἐξουσίαι; and the whole scope of the place shews plainly, the Apostle means no other Powers but *just*, *rational*, and *good Governours*, who are a *terrour* to *evil works*, and a *praise* to *good*. The Apostle doth not intend to assert Tyranny, or teach us that the unrighteous Powers of the Earth, are the Ordinance of God; but he means the righteous Powers that are, such as God hath ordained for the *Good of mankind*.

Object. *But we receive some good from unrighteous and oppressing Magistrates, and though they do not fully come up to the duties God requires of them, yet they defend us from Theeves and Murderers, and it is better then it would be if there were no Magistrates; for then we could not live, no man could have any assurance of any thing he calls his Own; and for that good we receive from them, we are to be subject to them.*

Sol. 1. This Objection I confess hath been traditionally handed from one to another, and been received by those who see more with other

men's eyes than their own. But whereas it is pretended that Tyrants do us some good in defending us from *Theeves* and *Murderers*; I cannot apprehend that; it is but *Gratis dictum*, for they are so far from defending us from them, that they make *Theeves* and *Murderers*, by destroying Trade, and oppressing the People with unreasonable Taxes, and Exactions; and being patterns to others in Profuseness and Prophaness, they daily encrease the number of *Theeves* and *Murderers* in the Land; yea, *wicked Governours*, are the principal Cause of *Theeves* and *Murderers*.

2. And no wonder they should make Theeves and Murderers; for they are Captains and Leaders of that Troop; *Theeves* and *Murderers* learn of them. What are those cruel Exactions that they lay upon us to maintain their Lusts, but publick Thefts? and doth not the Blood of the poor Innocents cry out against them, *as Murderers*? yea surely, the Voice of the Blood of those hundreds these men have murdered by filthy Prisons, for obeying God's Commands, cryes aloud against them. Tyrants are the greatest *Theeves* and *Murderers* of all.

3. We are not at all beholding to them, for suppressing or punishing Theeves and Murderers now and then. For first, They are *Partial*; some Theeves and Murderers they will not punish, but if they have Money, they may be easily set at Liberty, by one subtil *Evasion or other*. Secondly, Those they do punish, are most of their own making, as I shewed before. Thirdly, And they encrease more continually, hang one, and make two. And, Fourthly, They do worse themselves than those they do punish. And Lastly, If we were rid of *Tyrants*, and *Oppressing Governours*, we could take care our selves, to set up such as would execute Justice impartially, and neither rob nor murder us *themselves*, nor suffer others to do it; both which these wicked Rulers do.

4. But the reason why we are commanded to be subject to Magistrates, is not because they do us some good, but because they *are Servants to us for good*, Rom. 13.4. It is a madness to say they are Servants to us for good, because they do some good. Would you say he were a Servant for good to his Master, that would rob him, and take away his goods to spend upon his lusts, and lay violent hands upon him, if he should reprove him, because he would work sometimes, and keep other Theeves out of the house; he is a Servant for good that fulfils his Relation, and performs the duty of a Servant. And so it is concerning the Magistrate, if he do that good which a publick Servant to the People is bound to do, he is a Servant to them for Good. If he *oppress, enslave, impoverish, persecute* them, though he may do some good, yet he is not a Servant to them *for good*, and they owe him no subjection. An oppressing Magistrate, neither

neither keeps his Relation of a Servant to the People, nor anſwers the End for which he was made, *Their Good*; but makes himſelf their Lord, and ſeeks their hurt; and the little good he doth, doth not compenſate for the great Evil.

We are commanded to be ſubject to the Magiſtrate, not becauſe of ſome good he doth, but becauſe he is a Servant to us for good indefinitely, that is, all the good which his Office enjoyns him to do us.

5. The Apoſtle gives this reaſon, why we ſhould not reſiſt the Magiſtrate, becauſe we need not fear him if we do well, but ſhall have praiſe of him, *verſ.* 3. now though a Tyrant may poſſibly do ſome good, yet we cannot have praiſe of him when we do well, nay we carry our Liberties and Lives in our hands, when we go about the beſt Duties. We cannot meet together, to ſerve God as he hath commanded us, but we are in danger of the loſs of our Liberties, Livelihoods, nay and Lives alſo; for many have caught their Deaths in Priſons of late. Therefore this pretence of ſome good, is but a meer airy notion, inſtead of an Argument.

6. And laſtly, The Apoſtle gives this for the reaſon why we are to be ſubject to Magiſtrates, and pay them Tribute, becauſe they continually attend upon this thing; that is, doing juſtice, and ſeeking our good, *verſ.* 6. not becauſe we receive ſome good from them, as the pretenders affirm; but becauſe they make it their work, and continual endeavour to do us good. *Aſſidue incumbentes*, ſome render it, but I ſuppoſe it might better be rendred, *fortiter inſtantes*, the word denotes, *vehemens perſeverance*: they put all their might and ſtrength (conſtantly) to the performance of their Duty. But he that neglects the greateſt part of his Duty, and is careleſs in his Office, or continually oppreſſing us, though he may poſſibly do ſome good, hath no right to ſubjection or tribute from the People.

So that you ſee plainly, what kind of Power God hath forbid us to reſiſt, and what Rulers he hath commanded us to be ſubject unto.

A Power that is juſt, rational, and profitable to us; but an unjuſt, arbitrary, tyrannical, or oppreſſive Power, he hath not commanded us to be ſubject unto. Rulers, Magiſtrates, that execute Juſtice, puniſh evil doers, praiſe them that do well, and are Servants to us for good, we muſt needs be ſubject unto for Conſcience ſake; but no command to ſubmit to Tyrants or Oppreſſors.

The ſame anſwer is to be made to that in 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, 14. that though the Apoſtle commands us, to ſubmit to ſuch Governours, as are ſent for the puniſhment of evil doers, and praiſe of them that do well; yet he doth not command us to ſubmit to ſuch as puniſh us for doing well,

well, or oppress us. And so we are to understand all other Scriptures, that speak of obedience and subjection to Magistrates, they mean righteous Magistrates, not Oppressors.

2. A second Argument to prove that we owe the Magistrate no passive obedience, in case of Tyranny or Oppression, but may lawfully resist him is this.

That which the Law of Nature teacheth all men to do, cannot be unlawful;

But Nature teacheth to resist all that come to Oppress or Injure us, as well the Magistrate as others;

Therefore it cannot be unlawful.

If a Magistrate should offer violence to any Womans chastity, and unless she should yeeld her Body to him, threaten to kill her, will not Nature it self teach her to resist him and defend her self if she can?

If a Magistrate who ought to Protect me and my Relations, will come to Murder my Wife and Children, doth not Nature command me to defend them, and resist him?

Nature teacheth all creatures to resist injury, and defend themselves one way or other; and who would be so childish as to affirm, that Reason teacheth men to lay aside Self-defence, and suffer others to destroy us, under a pretence of Authority? If we consult with Reason it will tell us, that the wickedness of a Magistrate in oppressing us, who is our Servant to protect us, is far greater than the wickedness of one private persons oppressing another.

3. We have several presidents in Scripture of the Lords People, that have resisted wicked and tyrannous Governours.

David resisted *Saul*, who sought his Life unjustly.

1. He being *Sauls* Servant went away without his leave, yea contrary to his will, 1 *Sam.* 19. 10.

2. He raised an Army to defend himself, 1 *Sam.* 22. 2. If it be said, they came to him voluntarily; I answer, that is nothing to the purpose; for within *Sauls* Kingdom, *David* headed an Army, contrary to the will of the King. *He became their Captain*, the Text saith.

3. It is plain, that *David* made war in his own Defence: Because the Spirit of God saies, *Those that came to David, came to him as helpers of the War*, 1 Chron. 12. 1, and *vers.* 17. *The Children of Benjamin and Judah came to help him.*

4. And the Spirit of God pronounceth a blessing on them that came to help *David* against the Tyranny of *Saul*, *vers.* 18.

5. And God himself took his part, *He helped him*, *vers.* 18. The Lord takes part with the poor Innocent, when they take up Arms in their own defence against Tyrants.

Object.

Object. *But this was an extraordinary Case, David was anointed to be King to succeed Saul, and therefore he might use an extraordinary way to defend himself, which another might not have done.*

Sol. Though *David* was anointed to succeed *Saul*, yet he did not pretend thereby any present right to the Government, or that he was thereby authorized to take up Armes against *Saul*; but he justifies his practise, by his Innocency, 1 *Chron.* 12. 17. He had not deserved to be so persecuted by *Saul*, because he had done no wrong, and what he did was in his own defence; which the Law of Nature taught him to do: and those that helped him, came to him as an innocent oppressed man, whose Life was sought unjustly by a wicked Tyrant, 1 *Chron.* 12. 1. they heard how *Saul* hunted after his Life, and made him hide himself, and therefore came to help him; which I shall shew hereafter is no more than the Law of God requires the People to do, to deliver the Innocent from the hand of the Oppressor.

Another president we have, 1 *Sam.* 14. 44, *and* 45. *verses.*

When *Saul* would have put *Jonathan* to death unjustly, the People resisted him both in word and deed. *Saul* had not onely said but confirmed it with an Oath or a Curse, that *Jonathan should surely dye.* The People say and swear the Contrary. *As the Lord liveth, not one hair of his head shall fall to the ground.* And they made good their word, *for they rescued Jonathan that he died not.*

So likewise *Elisha* defended himself against King *Joram*'s Tyranny, 2 *Kings* 6. 32. The King swears he would have *Elisha*'s head from off his shoulders before night, sends a Messenger to apprehend him, and follows himself at the Messengers feet, because he would be sure to see it executed. Was *Elisha* bound to submit to this unjust Sentence, and yeeld his neck to the Tyrant, who came to murder him, under the pretence of his Authority? *Elisha* understood himself better than so: *See ye* (sayes he) *how this son of a Murderer hath sent to take away my head. Look when the Messenger comes, shut the door, and hold him fast at the door; is not the sound of his Master's feet behind him?* Here was a violent resistance of the tyrannous Power of the King, in his own defence. The *Septuagent* renders it παραθλίψατε ἀυτὸν ἐν τῇ θύρᾳ, *bruise him in the door.* As for that pretence, *Elisha* was a Prophet, an extraordinary person, it is not lawful for another to do so, because *Elisha* did; it is scarcely worth an answer. For *Elisha* defended himself as a man, he pretended nothing extraordinary, but resisted one that came to murder him, which Nature would have taught any man in the world to do. And indeed if there had been never an example of this nature in Scripture, yet the very Light of Reason were sufficient to determine the case.

case. Yea, the very Prelates, and other Advocates of Tyranny, are forced to confess, That in many cases it is lawful, not only for the body of the People, or the lesser part of them, but for particular persons, to resist the King.

Obj. *But doth not the Apostle command Servants to be subject to evil Masters as well as good, and to take it patiently when they are buffeted for doing well?* 1 Pet. 2. 18. *Will it not follow much more that we must be subject to evil Magistrates as well as good, and take it patiently, when they punish us for doing well?*

Sol. 1. The scope of the place shews, the Apostle doth not mean an absolute or universal subjection, in all cases whatsoever, but in smaller injuries, which may be easily born and put up (for the sake of peace and quietness) better suffered than resisted.

If a Master be froward, cross and crabbed, apt to revile his Servants, and give them evil language, they must not revile again, or return the like language to their Masters, which they receive from them; which is the Apostles meaning, as you may see by comparing ver. 18. with 23.

If a Master should buffet his Servant, or (as we commonly term it) cuff him about the ears, ὡς κολαζιζόμενοι, *if being cuffed.* The Apostle tells us what kind of injuries he means; such common injuries as may better be patiently suffered, than violently resisted. But it would be a madness, to argue from this place, that if a Master should offer to ravish his Servant, or if she cryed out, to cut her throat, or come with a sword to kill his Servant, or with a club to knock his Servant down, that the Servant ought to be subject, and take it patiently. So that if we should grant that there is the same reason why the People should suffer injuries patiently from evil Magistrates, that there is for Servants to suffer patiently from evil Masters, it would prove no more but this; that we must submit to them in some smaller injuries, which we may put up without any great inconvenience; but not that we should suffer them to murder us, or our friends, to lay us up in filthy Dungeons till we are poisoned and stifled up with the stink of them, or to beggar our Wives and Children to satisfie their lusts.

2. But indeed there is no such reason, why the People should suffer injuries patiently from Magistrates, without resisting, as why Servants should from their Masters; and therefore the Objection is of no force. For,

1. God hath commanded Servants to suffer lesser injuries patiently from their Masters; but he hath not commanded the People to suffer such things from the Magistrate.

2. The Magistrate is not the Peoples Master, but (as I have proved before

before) their Servants: and therefore, this place proves rather the contrary, That if the People, who are in truth and reality the Magistrate's Master, should offer any lesser injury to the Magistrate who is their Servant, he ought to suffer it patiently at their hands. So that alwayes the very weapons which the Kings-men fight withal, wound themselves. Alas, poor men, they grope at noon-day, and stumble at the light, their own Arguments stab their cause to the heart. Yea, truly I would desire no more to prove the lawfulness of resisting a tyrannous and oppressing Magistrate, than what they urge against it.

Obj. *But doth not Christ forbid us to resist evil?* Mat. 25. 39.

Sol. This place forbids us no more to resist a wicked Magistrate, than any other wicked man. For there is not a word peculiar to the Magistrate in this command. But suppose it were appropriate to the Magistrate, it would prove no more than this, that we are to put up some lesser injuries, as that other place requires Servants to do from their Masters, and not return evil for evil. Which is evident to be our Saviour's meaning,

1. By the occasion of these words. *Ye have heard it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.* That is, It hath been commonly judged lawful among you, to revenge your selves, and do to others what evil they have done unto you: but I forbid this, sayes Christ; it is an evil thing so to do, *you shall not render evil for evil.* And indeed it is no more than Reason it self dictates: for though Reason teach us to defend our selves, and not suffer others to beat out our eyes or teeth, if we can hinder it; yet if a man should take an advantage, and beat out my eye or tooth, before I were aware, it were not rational for me to fall upon him and return the same, but right my self in a wiser manner.

2. And the particular cases Christ mentions, shew he means lesser injuries. *If one smite thee on the cheek, ραπιζει.* *Erasmus*, *Hemsius*, *Scultetus*, and other learned men (as *Leigh* observes) understand it, of striking, not with the fist, but the palm of the hand, a box of the ear. And our Translators render the word, *smiting with the palm of the hand*, *Matth.* 26. 27.

Another injury Christ would not have us to resist with violence, is, If a man take away our coat, or compel us to go a mile with him, he means, that we should rather put up small injuries, thereby to win men to the Gospel, than by contending with them, or rendring evil for evil, lose the opportunity of gaining them to God.

But if you would understand the words, *Resist not Evil*, to forbid all Resistance of Evil, it were impossible for the World to subsist: For if we may not resist those who come to murder us, rob us, burn houses, ravish women, carry away our children for slaves, and do such like intolerable evils, we must go out of the World, for there is no living here.

I conclude therefore, that this place doth not forbid a private person, to resist any great and unsufferable Evil, which may be offered to the Life, Liberty or Estate, of himself or others; much less doth it forbid the People to resist a Cruel and Tyrannous Governour, who by his Office is bound to protect them, and yet most perfidiously and traiterously, doth oppress them, murdering some, imprisoning others, for doing well, impoverishing and enslaving all.

FINIS.